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Northumberland 4° 20

MEMORIALS

OF

NORTH TYNDALE,

AND ITS

FOUR SURNAMES.

BY

EDW. CHARLTON, M.D., D.C.L.

SECOND EDITION.

Sir Robert Bowes, in his report upon the state of the Borders in 1550, tells us that "the countreye of North Tynedaill, which is more plenished with wild and misdemeaned people, may make of men upon horsbak and upon foote about six hundred. They stand most by fower surnames, whereof the Charletons be the chiefe. And in all services or charge impressed uppon that countrey the Charltons, and such as be under their rule, be rated for the one-half of that countrey, the Robsons for a quarter, and the Dodds and Mylbornes for another quarter. Of every surname there be certayne families or graves (graynes) of which there be certeyne hedesmen that leadeth and answereth all for the rest."

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE:
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1871.

Gough Add.ˢ Northumberland.
4° 20.

TO THE

PRESENT "HEDESMAN OF THE FOREMOST GRAYNE,"

WILLIAM HENRY CHARLTON,

OF HESLEYSIDE,

THESE NOTES ON NORTH TYNEDALE ARE OFFERED BY

HIS AFFECTIONATE BROTHER,

EDWARD CHARLTON, M.D.

THE compiling of the following pages has been a relaxation from the severer duties of a laborious profession. They are only brief sketches of what might be a more extended and perfect work. The early condition of Tynedale may not admit of much more illustration; but, could the whole of the two Iters of Wark be given to the public, and, along with these, could there but be printed the wondrous stores of Border Correspondence of the sixteenth century, one half of which is still buried in the Record Office, they would, together, form a volume which, though a large one, would not, we trust, be unacceptable to the public.—E. C.

7, Eldon Square,
July 23rd, 1870.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

THE former limited issue of this pamphlet having been rapidly exhausted, we have pleasure in presenting the present edition in a considerably extended form. We have obtained a number of letters from the stores in the Record Office, relative to North Tynedale; and though some of these need not be published in this little work entire, there are others so racy, and couched in such curious language, that we have not hesitated to embody them in these pages.

7, Eldon Square,
June 1st, 1871.

MEMORIALS OF NORTH TYNDALE

AND ITS FOUR SURNAMES.

THE earliest sketch of this once little known, and seldom visited district, may be composed from the study of the remains of primæval occupation yet visible on its open moors, or ensconced in its natural woods. Cultivation has done little here; the land lies too high for the growth of corn with success; while stock feeding, the almost universal pursuit among the farmers, preserves, for the antiquary, the original features of the country. The plough has obliterated the traces of our ancestors, in the more fertile districts of England; but here, in the yet unchanged ground of the North Tyne, the hill forts, the dykes, the camps, and even the resting-places of the dead, have been maintained uninjured. The whole district of the North Tyne abounds in traces of early occupation. Whether the land was first occupied by a Celtic people, or the Celts were only the conquerors and supplanters of a still earlier race, we leave to abler pens, and to future investigators; but all along the course of the North Tyne, from Chollerford to Kielder, there are hill forts, camps, dykes, and cairns, attesting the former existence of a considerable population. Probably, in the earliest times, each small district was under the rule of some petty chieftain, who, as a matter of course, was at war, or had a grievance against his neighbour. Hence arose many of the isolated hill forts, the strongholds at the Countess Park, the hill fort at the top of the Garret Holt (Caer yt Holt). Each chieftain tried to secure his worldy goods, his cattle, his wives, and his children, from the sudden incursions of his neighbouring foe. Each family had, probably, some feud, which, like the vendetta of Corsica in our times, was handed down from father to son. Of the weapons of these warriors, few, indeed, have come down to us. Some stone axes; and, probably of later date, a few elegant chisels, or axes, of bronze, have been

discovered in the district. The burial mounds, or cairns, have afforded some rude, cord-marked or thong-marked urns, sometimes with portions of jet necklaces and beads; and, in one instance, on the demolition of a cairn at Ridsdale, there was found a necklace of pure gold beads, which is now preserved in the Newcastle Museum. Four or five years ago, a gold armlet was discovered near Bellingham, but, under the pressure of the absurd laws regarding treasure trove, it was consigned to the melting pot. Such are the faint traces of British occupation; and, in North Tyne proper, the mighty Roman host has left scarcely an abiding mark, while the neighbouring valley of Redesdale presents Roman signs in abundance. The Roman armies seem to have passed by North Tynedale altogether; and history tells us nothing of this valley till centuries after the Romans had retired from Great Britain. A single fragment of a cross, now preserved in the Newcastle Museum of Antiquaries, shews that, as early as the seventh or eighth century, Christianity was fully established here. The fragment alluded to, was found a little above the present church of Falstone, on a spot marked with "Ruins" in Armstrong's map, of 1769. The inscription on this fragment is written in two different modes, but in the same language, in Roman uncial letters on the one side, in Anglo-Saxon Runes on the other. Both inscriptions have suffered terribly from time and illusage, but they are evidently alike in signification, and the letters that are obliterated on the one side, are, in most cases, to be made out on the other. They have been cut on a monumental cross, and run as follow:—

"Eomaer set this (cross) up for his
Uncle, Hrœthbert. Pray for his soul."

It is probable that the old Anglo-Saxon runes used in Pagan times, were, at the date of the erection of this cross, fast disappearing before the influence of the Latin Christianity introduced by St. Augustine and his followers; and hence, both the old form of writing, and the new, have been perpetuated on this solitary fragment. Hrœthbert is equivalent to the Robert of our day, and the descendants of Robert would be Robertsons, or Robsons, which now, as of old, is the chief surname about Falstone. We think we have evidence here of the Robsons some twelve hundred years ago, in the very

district where, till lately, they held sway. Whether old Hrœthbert was the ancestor of the wight-riding Robsons of the old play —" Honest men, save doing a little shifting for their living"— we will not say. The *Charltons* and the *Milburns* are both Anglo-Saxon names, but the Charltons do not appear till after the Conquest, and the Milburns are not heard of till several centuries later. Of the fourth surname—that of Dodd—distinct records even of the orign of the name are given to us by a right early writer— Reginald of Durham, who flourished about the year 1150. Here we have, indeed, almost the first distinct historic traces of North Tynedale story. Reginald tells us, that when the Danes burst upon Lindisfarne, in the seventh century, the monks bore off, into the mountains, the body of St. Cuthbert. From place to place they transported it, till their number, by famine and desolation, was reduced to four. And one of these was Eilaf; and he, and his companions, were exhausted by hunger, and they had no food, save the salted head of a horse and a single cheese. And Eilaf longed for this cheese, till so great was his desire thereof, that he hid it, and began to eat thereof. And at noon the bearers of St. Cuthbert's body rested in a desert place, and sought to make their midday meal; and, behold, the cheese on which they had relied was missing. Then the brethren prayed that the thief might be changed into a fox, and so there issued straightway from the wood a fox, with the identical cheese in his jaws, which the animal vainly tried to devour, and as vainly to get rid of, and much laughter did this cause unto the brethren; and it was noted, that Eilaf, who had stolen the cheese, was absent. And they knew that he now writhed before them in the shape of a fox; and they having been sufficiently amused, did pray to God, and to St. Cuthbert, to restore to him his human shape: and, from that day, all the race of Eilaf bore the name of Tod (Dodd), which, in the mother tongue, signifies a fox. In the same writer we find the first mention of Bellingham and Wark, then, as now, the two principal villages in North Tyne. Reginald relates this story, as having occurred in his own time, or little before it. We may, therefore, conclude it to have occurred about the period of the Norman Conquest. There was a man named Sproich, who was appointed by the almoner of Durham to repair the bridges in the North Tyne, and he was dwelling at Bainlengham (Bellingham), in

Tindale, with his wife and his only daughter, Eda Brown. And, as an only child, they loved to see her dressed in rich and fine garments, though they were poor themselves. And Eda, like many of her sex, delayed the finishing of her fine garment, "indumentum de fustico tincto," (a brown dyed stuff); and she was working at it on the morn of St. Laurence's feast, and her mother rebuked her, saying, she should cease to work, and prepare to go to church. But Eda was obstinate, and replied she would work to what hour she liked, but would finish her gown. And, as she spoke, her left hand, which held the costly stuff, contracted thereupon, so that she could not move the fingers to open the hand, nor could they, by force, draw away the cloth they grasped. And all human aid being vain, they betook themselves to the little church of St. Cuthbert, the Glorious Confessor; and, as they went thither, they caused the sufferer to drink of the Well of St. Cuthbert.* And, during the whole of that night, the parents and the girl lay prostrate in prayer in the church, and when it was about the small hours of the morning, the figure of the saint arose at the altar, and, descending into the aisle, touched the contracted hand of the sufferer. The girl, terrified by the apparition, shrieked out, and her mother (animâ ducta fœmineâ), "just like a woman," seized her daughter's hand between her own palms, and the miracle was left but half completed, for, though the cloth dropped from her closed fingers, she could not yet open her hand. Thus they continued till the morning, when the priest, at mass, having read the Gospel, ordered all in the church to make a novena of nine Our Fathers for the recovery of the maiden. And, behold, she immediately recovered, and joyfully held up her healed hand in the church. And, of this miracle, there are at this day witnesses. All the men, women, boys, and girls, of the said village of Bellingham, and the priest himself—whose name is Samuel—vouches for it, and Sproich, her father, never speaks of it without tears. And it came to pass, that the said girl was about to be married, and the steward of the Earl (of Badenoch?) demanded a heavy fine from the parents, and when they refused to pay, he entered their dwelling, and took from thence their cow, and drove her to Wark, and placed her there in the stable of one Elsi, a man of his

* This well still exists in the churchyard, and is called "Cuddy's Well" to this day.—E. C.

following. And Sproich invoked the aid of St. Cuthbert against the spoliation, and Eilaf, the bailiff, sneered thereat, and said he knew not the man. And, behold, while he sate at supper at Wark, there came a mighty flash of lightning, and consumed the building; but the cow escaped unhurt, and, bellowing loudly, took her way back to Bellingham. Walter, of Flanders, lived a little before that time at Bellingham, and, "being a man of evil mind, he one day took forcible possession of an axe in Sproich's house, and sneered at the power of St. Cuthbert, whose aid Sproich invoked on the spot; and. behold, at the first stroke of his work, the axe head flew from the shaft, and, striking him on the head, bore him to the ground." Another miracle is recorded of a man having lost his axe, while working at the bridge, at the Bridge Ford, and recovering it through the aid of St. Cuthbert. The Bridge Ford is nearly a mile below Bellingham; the river here is shallow, and divided by an island, but no traces of the bridge now remain.

Another hundred years pass away, and we are then presented with a vigorous contemporary portrait of men and manners in North Tynedale towards the close of the thirteenth century.

It is well known that the present boundaries between England and Scotland have not existed from the earliest times. North Tynedale was twice after the Conquest under the Scottish yoke. Cumberland, and a part of Northumberland, including North Tynedale, down to at least Chollerford Bridge, were ceded by King Stephen to David King of Scotland, but were resumed by Henry II., in the third year of his reign. Shortly after, however, Tynedale was again granted to William the Lion, in 1159, to be held under homage only, and Jura Regalia were enjoyed there by the Scottish sovereigns. In North Tynedale, therefore, the Scottish courts were regularly held, and, fortunately, among the records still preserved in London, there has been discovered a full "Roll" of the Justices itinerant of King Alexander III. of Scotland, of the pleas held at Wark, in Tynedale, in the thirty-first year of that monarch's reign, or in 1279. This was the same King Alexander, who, in 1263, defeated Hakon, the old King of Norway, at the battle of Largs, in Ayrshire; and possibly some of the stout soldiers of the North Tyne crossed swords with the Norseman on that eventful day, just as their ancestors, five centuries

before, had resisted the invading Danes on their own Eastern shores. Of the Scottish records, only this single one has been preserved. It is a long document, in Latin, occupying no less than sixty closely-printed pages, in the only case where it has been printed, viz., in the Newcastle Volume of the Transactions of the Archæological Institute.

The now quiet little village of Wark was, in Saxon times, probably the capital of Tynedale; at all events, it was so shortly after the Conquest, and continued to be so regarded during the Scottish occupation. When Tynedale came under English rule once more, Wark still was the capital of the district. Here, upon the Mote Hill (the hill of meeting), were held the Courts of the Liberties of Tynedale, and, of the proceedings of these courts, there have fortunately been preserved the two precious records illustrative of the early history of North Tyne. One of these documents has been already printed, as before stated; the other is still in manuscript in the Record Office, but a full authentic copy has been made, and which is now in possession of the Society of Antiquaries of this town. It is the Record of the Session of the Liberties of Tynedale, held at Wark, in the reign of King Edward I., at the Easter term, in 1293. Tynedale was now once more under English rule, and has so continued to the present day. In these two documents we have a most lively picture of the manners and customs of those remote times. We are presented with the names of the holders of land, and of their tenants, many of which names are found in the district at the present day. The Swinburnes held the lands at Chollerton which they now possess; the Charltons owned the lands at Healeyside, but still resided at their old family seat at Charlton, on the opposite side of the river; the Robsons and Dodds are frequently mentioned, but of the Milburns we hardly find a trace, though a Milburn is mentioned as residing at Longhorsely in 1322. These are the four graynes, or clans, which ruled in North Tynedale three centuries later. One powerful family has entirely disappeared from the district, their name alone surviving in the chief town of Tynedale —viz., the De Bellinghams. They seem to have ruled with great power, as officers of the Scottish King Alexander III., over much of the country around Bellingham, subject, however, to the higher powers of the Comyns, who seem to have been the lords

paramount, and who are known to have possessed Tarset and Dala Castles higher up the Tyne.

William de Bellingham was sheriff of Tynedale at this time, 1279. He was, likewise, Forester of Tynedale, under the King of Scotland. His son Richard married the heiress of Burneshead in Westmoreland, and his descendants resided long at the old mansion of Levens Hall, near Kendal. Becoming impoverished, they sold Levens to the Grahams, in 1689, and are now represented, by Sir Alan E. Bellingham, of Castle Bellingham, in Ireland. Within the last hundred years money was paid to the representatives of the Bellinghams, as quit rents for lands at the Haining, in North Tynedale. Alan de Bellingham left only two daughters, heiresses, one of whom was married to Sir Roland Bellasis, of Bellasis, in the County of Durham. In these two most important documents, the name of the Charltons, who afterwards rose to be the leading family in the district, first appears. In the second Iter, 1293, Adam de Charlton proves that he held, at Charlton, the same lands that had been possessed by his grandfather William de Charlton. Adam de Charlton was married and in possession of Charlton in 1279; and allowing thirty years for a generation, William de Charlton's tenure of Charlton is carried back nearly to the commencement of the 13th century. Adam de Charlton died in 1303, when his son William was twenty-two years of age; and we here give the "Inquisito post mortem" of the former, a document which, a few years ago, was discovered among the records in the Tower of London.

INQ. P. M. 31 EDW: I. No. 180.

(Public Record Office.)

Inquisitio de terris et tenementis quæ fuerunt Adæ de Charlton in Tynedale, die quo obiit, facta apud Beddyncham die Sabbati proxima post festum Sancti Johannis ante Portam Latinam, anno regni Regis Edwardi tricesimo primo, per sacramentum Hutred de Brerygg, Johannes Cornehyrd, Willielmi filii Ed,' &c.

Qui dicunt, super sacramentum suum, quod Adam de Charleton tenuit manerium de Charlton, in dominico suo ut de feodo, die quo obiit, per servitium vicesimæ partis unius feodi militis, de manerio de

Tirset in Tyndale, quod est in manu domini regis per forisfacturam Johannes Comyn de Badenagh.

. Et dicunt quod est ibidem quoddam capitale messuagium, quod valet per annum xii^{d}. Item sunt ibidem quadraginta acra terræ arabalis in dominico, quarum quælibet acra valet per annum viii^{d}. Item sunt ibi septem acræ prati, quarum quælibet acra valet per annum ii^{ss}. Item est ibi quidem boscus, qui valeret per annum iiii^{ss}. in venditione subbosci, si emptor inveniretur. Item est ibi quoddam molendinum aquaticum, quod valet per annum xiii^{ss}. iiii^{d}. Item sunt ibi sexaginta acræ terræ husbandorum, quarum quælibet acra valet per annum xii^{d}. Item est ibi quoddam mansio in le Hunteland, quæ vocatur le Scele, quæ valet per annum iiii^{s}.

Summa omnium particularum in hâc inquisitone contentarum vi^{li}. iii^{s}.

Dicunt etiam quod Willielmus, filius prædicti Adæ, est propinquior hæres ejusdem, et dicunt quod erit ætatis viginti et duorum annorum ad festum Sancti Laurentii proximo futurum.

Adam de Charlton, who deceased on the Saturday before the 6th of May, 1303, is the same individual who figures in the Iter of Wark in 1279, as the successful opponent of William de Bellingham relative to two hundred acres of land and meadow at Hesleyside.

The mode of spelling Bellingham, Beddyncham, shows that the "gh" was pronounced soft, as at present, and accords with the singular orthography "Bellinjham" in the Iter of Wark.

Hutred or Huchtred—an old Saxon or Danish name—is found taking his name from Brerygg, now Brieridge, a farm adjoining the grounds at Hesleyside.

The name Cornehyrde is curious; it may have been misspelt for Cowhyrde, but perhaps there were guardians of the corn as well as of the cattle in those days.

It will be observed that William is here given as the son of Ed' or Edie, as the common abbreviation of Adam—even at this day.

The wood of Charlton, through which the Border Counties Railway passes, still exists, and is probably not much changed.

The mill that Adam de Charlton held is no doubt the old picturesque

mill opposite to Charlton, now called Hesleyside Mill, or Walk Mill, and till lately the residence of a well known character, old James Turnbull.

The mansion in the Huntland was no doubt the Alder Shield, now called the Auld-Man-Shield on the hill behind Hesleyside. The Huntlands of Tindale are often spoken of in ancient deeds and grants. A large proportion of these lands are Huntlands to this day, as far as regards grouse and black game, but goodly flocks of cheviot sheep have replaced the red deer and the roe that formerly tenanted these wastes.

All these properties, with the exception of Charlton, which was sold about a hundred years ago, are still in the hands of the family of Charlton.

The judges of the Scottish Crown, who sat at Wark in this year (1279), the only one of which a record has been preserved, were Thomas Randolph, Symon Freser, or Fraser, Hugh de Peresby, and David de Torthoralde.

The *Iter* itself is, of course, drawn in the rather cramped law Latin of the time; and this perhaps will serve as our excuse for making a few brief extracts and notes on its more remarkable details; and our local acquaintance with the district has been of no small aid in identifying many localities here alluded to. It is possible that some of the details, may be more personally interesting to ourselves than to others; but we wish to convey an accurate picture of North Tynedale as it was nearly six hundred years ago. What a fund of curious information is laid bare to us by this fragmentary record of a single year's judicial proceedings at the old Mote Hill, at Wark! We learn who were the chief oppressors of the people. We see the deference paid to the office of coroner and to the decisions of twelve jurymen in doubtful cases. The Swinburne holds the lands now possessed by his representative; while of another powerful family, the De Bellinghams, not a trace now remains in the town that bears their name. It is strange, too, to find how hereditary is the love of the chase in some families—how that Robert Homel or Humble was fined for fishing salmon in close time, when no doubt he was as little able to resist the temptation of securing the lordly fish as his descendants of that name at the present day.

The names of the sheriffs after the last *Iter* were William de Bellingham, John de Swynburne, and John de Warewyke; and of the coroners, John de Schutelington, Gilbert de Grendon, and Odoard de Ridely. Amongst the names of the jurors of Tynedale we find the following:—William de Schepelaw (Shipley), Thomas de Thirlwall, Matthew de Whitfield, and Thomas Bell; while John de Maughan is a juror of Newbrough, and Roger Colstan (Coulson), and Richard Homel are inmates of the Prison at Wark. Parties are constantly designated as living on the Wall. Thus, Adam the son of Robert of the Wall (filius Roberti de Muro), Huchtred of the Wall and Hugh of the Wall, all claim possession of certain lands near Haltwhistle and the Walltown.

We shall now briefly notice some of the various pleas brought against sundry parties for forcible dispossession of land, &c.

William de Swynburne first claims our attention. He was treasurer to Margaret, Queen of Scotland; for a letter in his favour from that queen is still extant, recommending our beloved in Christ, William de Swynburne, our treasurer, to the favourable notice of William de Merton, Chancellor of England.

In 1263, William de Swynburne paid 10s., for rent of land in Old Halgton, Halgton, Halgton Strothers, and Halgton (now Haughton, near Humshaugh). He was evidently a powerful chieftain, and greatly involved in disputes with his weaker neighbours, whose lands he seems to have been disposed to lay claim to at all seasons. We fear that John de Tecket, and Joan his wife acted but foolishly when they brought a complaint before the justices at Wark, that William de Swinburne had wrongfully dispossessed them of their free pasturage in Haughton Strother and in Nunewicke, belonging to their free tenement in Simondburn. And William de Swinburne, more learned, doubtless, in the bye paths of the law, calls the attention of the court that their writ is incorrect in form (viciosum est, et peccat in forma), which the said John and Joan could not gainsay; wherefore they take nothing by their complaint, and remain at the mercy of the Court *pro falso clamore*. A similar action, relating to Haughton, is brought by John Mowbray for pasturage appertaining to his free tenement in Hounshale (Humshaugh)—but with no better success. Symon the Palmer, too, must needs try his hand against the Swinburne in the

matter of those same pastures; but he fails like the rest. Again:—William de Swinburne is summoned by Christiana, widow of Hugh de Nunnewike (Nunwick), to obtain her dower of 26 acres of land in Nunwick; but this is soon amicably arranged. Shortly after, John de West Denton appears by his bailiff, William de Swethope, against William de Swinburne, for the unlawfully dispossessing him of 39 acres of land in Haughton. But the Swinburne's good fortune follows him, and he proves that he, through John de Swinburne, had been enfeoffed of the said lands by John of West Denton; and so gains his cause. William de Tynedale acknowledges a debt to the said William de Swinburne of 100 shillings, 20 shillings of which he pays down at once; and he further covenants to pay a half at Pentecost, and the other half of the remainder at the Feast of St. Martin; and should he fail, the bailiff of the barony is to take the same out of his lands and cattle. Such are the scenes on which appears one of the direct ancestors of the late venerable President of the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle. We see how he acquired lands, and with what success he defended his claims.

Let us turn now to another of the magnates of Tynedale in those days—to a family of which the name alone remains to indicate its former dignity. The De Bellinghams are now represented by an Irish baronet. They are said to have acquired the Levens Estate, near Kendal, about 1582; but it is not certain at what period they parted with the last acre of their lands at Bellingham. They retained some interest in the district to a very late period, as we find it recorded that William de Bellingham inhabited the fortified bastel house at Hawyke, near Kirkwhelpington, in the year 1522. The site of their fortalice was on the east side of the Hareshaw Burn, where an artificial mound is still visible, and is at no great distance from the mill which the De Bellinghams held of the Scottish king, paying for the latter in 1263, the enormous rent of ten pounds sterling. It may be that the chantry chapel of St. Catherine in the very curious old stone-roofed church of Bellingham, was founded by this powerful family; for William De Bellingham was, with John de Swineburne and John de Warewyke, a sheriff of the regality. To judge from the records of this single *Iter*, William de Bellingham seems to have passed his life in perpetual feud with his neighbours:—and that, not only with the lesser

landholders, but with the most powerful of all—the great ecclesiastical dignitaries of Hexham and of Jedburgh. He retracted his complaint against the Prior of Hexham for trespass, but of his "differences" with Nicholas de Prenderlathe, Abbot of Jedworth, we find the fullest and most ample details. The Abbot of Jedworth, or more probably one of his predecessors, had received from the Scottish king the right of pasturage, and a tenement in Euelingjam (now Ealingham)—a farm about two miles from Bellingham. There appears to have been a mill on this property at that time; for it is more than once referred to. We have ascertained that it stood on the very small runner that comes down the valley directly south of Ealingham? and perhaps it was only one of those curious little mills which once existed in this country, and are still to be seen attached to almost every farm in Shetland and Orkney. The mills on the Tyne, however, were of much greater importance, In 1263, not less than 17*l.* a year was paid as rent for the Mill at Wark; and in the same year 10*s.* was disbursed for the repairs of the said mill, by altering the course of the Warksburn. The orign of the dispute between the abbot and William de Bellingham was one that is frequent enough in North Tyne at the present day—viz., a complaint of injury received through the fences of the opposite party on the adjacent land being kept in bad repair. William de Bellingham held at that time the lands and pasture of Hesleyside, which adjoin to Ealingham, and both now belong to one proprietor. The abbot makes complaint that De Bellingham keeps his ditches and hedges (fossas et hayas) of Hesleyside in such bad repair, that the flocks and cattle of the said abbot, pasturing at Euelingham, are liable to stray on to the lands at Hesleyside, and they are captured and impounded at Bellingham from day to day, to the damage of the said abbot of 20*l.* sterling. De Bellingham replies that the hedges and ditches before the issuing of the writ and since the summer have been as well kept up as they ought to be at those times. The parties agree, De Bellingham taking the initiative. As a counter plea, De Bellingham summons the abbot to show cause why he (De Bellingham) should not be entitled to free pasturage for two mares with their foals, for two years, in the abbot's parks at Euelingham; for William De Bellingham asserts he was in seisin of the said common in the time of King Henry, the father of the Lord Edward, now King of England; and

also in the time of the Lord Alexander, now King of Scotland; and that the said abbot deprived him illegally of the said common. De Bellingham may have been a good swordsman and leader of a fray, but he was no match in a point of law with the abbot of Jedworth. It was responded on the part of the Church that it had been neglected to specify, in the narration, at what time of the year he claimed to have the right of pasturage; nor had he named the period of the year for sending the animals into the abbot's parks. So William De Bellingham lost his plea, and remained at the mercy of the crown, *pro falso clamore*. The amercement was remitted. Another plea set up by De Bellingham against his foe, was, that the abbot of Jedworth had unjustly detained a chirograph charter, which he had handed to his predecessor for inspection. The abbot defends himself by alleging that there is no specification of the date and place of delivery of the written document; and that even if this were remedied, the said Nicholas, his predecessor, was still alive, and that an action would lie against him. De Bellingham loses this plea twice or thrice, the abbot loses his about the insufficient hedges as often; and wearied out, the parties conclude matters by a fine as follows:—

"This is the final agreement made between the Abbot of Jeddeworthe on the one part, and William de Bellingham on the other part, before Thomas Randolph and his fellows, justices itinerant at Werke in Tyndale, on the morrow of the Epiphany, in the 31st year of the reign of King Alexander, upon divers contentions there between them moved—viz., on the part of the abbot as regards the repairs of the ditches and hedges of the said William in Heselyside, and also regarding the common of pasture at Hesilyside belonging to the free tenement of the said abbot in Euelingham; and on the part of the said William, respecting the annual rent of thirteen bolls of flour and four shillings in silver; and also regarding the pasturage of two mares with their foals of two years in the parks of the said abbot in Euelingham. And that the said William, for himself and his heirs in perpetuity, agrees that he and his heirs shall well and sufficiently, according to the custom of the country, close and repair his ditches and hedges of Heselyside, from the Mabamsburne towards the east, to Strikeliscloyche (Stirkscleugh), and from Strikelscloyche to the Tyne, under the inspection of two lawful men of Belingham, two of Euelingham, two of Shutlington (Shitlington), and two of Charleton; and that the said men shall inspect the said hedges and enclosures every year, in the week of Pentecost. And whensoever the same men, or the major part of them, shall decree reparations to be made in the same hedges and enclosures, these shall immediately be done by the said William and his heirs, in the following week, without delay, accord ing to the order of the said men, or the major part of them.—And the said William, for himself and for his heirs in perpetuity, grants to the said abbot and to his successors, and to their tenants of Euelingham,

common of pasture of Hesilyside within the said hedges in the open time of the year, for all his flocks, and without the hedges at all times of the year, as appertaining unto his free tenement in Euelingham. But still that his flocks shall lie each night on the east side of Strikelscloyche (Stirks-cleugh."

De Bellingham also gives up all claim for the annual rent of thirteen bolls of flour and four shillings of silver; as likewise to pasturage in Euelingham for two mares and their foals. And it is agreed likewise that the chirographs that have passed between Nicholas, once Abbot of Jedworth, and predecessor of the present abbot, and the said William, shall remain in full force. "And for this remise and quitclaim, the said abbot hath released and quitclaimed to the said William the common of pasture he possessed for forty mares with their foals of two years in Belingeham, Wardlaw, and Grenacris, reserving to the said abbot and his successors common of pastures in the said vills for forty cows with their calves of one year, according to the tenor of the charter granted by Alan, the son of Wolfin, and grandfather of the said William, to the church of Blessed Mary at Jeddeworthe, and to the canons therein serving God."

At this time, Adam, son of William de Bellingham, held an ox-gang of land and 20 acres of meadow in Charlton. The possession of the Hesleyside pastures does not seem to have brought tranquillity to the rapacious De Bellinghams; for their claims were disputed by other parties—viz., by John de Shutelington and Adam de Charleton, both of whom complain that William de Bellingham had unjustly deprived them of 200 acres of land and meadow at Hesleyside, to which they had free access, with all their cattle, after the grass and hay had been carried home *(post blada et fena asportata)*. Adam de Charleton asserts that the said pasturage appertains to his free tenement in Little Charleton. William de Bellingham replies that the said tenement of Shutelington was formerly free forest of our lord the king, and that the king approved a certain portion of the said pasture, and bestowed it on the said William. And that, with regard to Adam de Charleton, he never had been seised of the said common pasturage since the king had demised the said tenement to the said William. The jury, however, to their great honour, decide against the claim of De Bellingham, and that the claims of John de Shitlington and Adam de Charleton are good, as their writs state. Perhaps this is the earliest mention of the family of Charlton obtaining lands in Hesleyside—which they have continued to hold to the present day. The old fortalice, at Hesleyside, was standing within the memory of persons yet living, as was also the peel at Charlton. Lastly, William de Bellingham is summoned to answer to the king by what titles he claims to own two parts of the

manor of Bellingham, which belonged to the ancient demesne of our lord the king. De Bellingham replies that all his ancestors had held the two parts of the manor in question, with all their appurtenances, from time immemorial, under the predecessors of our lord the King of Scotland, by the service of being the foresters of the King of Scotland throughout all his forest of Tynedale, but declines to litigate with the king, and submits the plea to his grace.

Such is an imperfect outline of one year's proceedings at Wark Courts in the matter of the families of Swinburne and De Bellingham; but there are other minor cases of curious interest. Thus, in a plea between Bartholomew de Prat and Robert de Insula (or De Lisle), of Chipchase, relative to rights of pasturage in Knaresdale, it was found that the plaintiff's grandfather had the right of pasturing his flocks as far as Tymberschaweburne, and as much beyond the said Tymberschaweburne as the flocks could return from in a single day, so as they might not pass a night beyond that burne.

The felonies and acts of violence occupy a smaller space in the Wark *Iter* than might have been presumed from the supposed lawless state of the country.

John of Hawelton and Thomas de Thirlwall do not seem to have confined their raids to Scotland; for, on the Sunday before the Feast of St. James, in the 18th year of Alexander, King of Scotland, they had plundered the good town of Wark of 30 oxen, each of the value of 10*s.*; 18 cows, each worth half a mark; one bull, worth half a mark; and 15 other cattle, each of the value of 5*s.*; besides 200 sheep, both wethers and ewes, each valued at twelve pence; and that the said John of Hawelton drove them to his park at Swyinescholes (Sewingshields), and there unjustly detains them against the peace of our lord the king.

The townships in which robberies and housebreakings occur were bound to pursue the thieves immediately with hue and cry; and numerous entries occur where such townships are placed at the mercy of the crown for neglect of this their duty. Thus:—"Certain unknown malefactors broke into the house of Agnes, the wife of William Pulayn, and bound the said Agnes, and Evota, her daughter, and thereupon carried away all their goods. Nor is any one suspected

beyond the aforesaid malefactors. And the township of Haltwhistle, which did not arrest them, is "in misericordia."'

Thomas Russell, of Playnmellor, slew Robert the son of Auger of Collanwood (Coanwood), in the town of Haltwhistle; and afterwards he fled to the church and abjured the kingdom.

The canny Scots occasionally made a raid over the border, even to the detriment of their then countrymen of Tynedale. Alexander, of Lothian, Arthur of Galwichia (Galloway), David of Clidesdale, and Hugh the Carpenter, broke into the house of William de Fenwike in Symundeburne, and bound the said William, and carried off his cattle. There should have been honour among those of the same calling.

Occasionally, the reivers used singular means to avoid pursuit. Thus, when certain unknown malefactors broke into the house of Robert Unthank, in Melkridge, in South Tyne, they shut up Alicia his daughter in a chest *(in quâdam archâ incluserunt)*.

The clergy were not always free from the general failing of taking liberties with other men's property.

Thus, Beatrix of Quitfield (Whitfield), summoned Thomas the Archdeacon of Northumberland, Master Hugo of Wodehalle, John de Burton, and Thomas of Haydene, chaplain, for robbery and receipt of felony, &c. And the said Master Hugo and all the others appeared, excepting Thomas the Archdeacon; but the testimony of the said Beatrix was not admitted, as it was proved by the bishop's letters-patent that she was excommunicate. The accused, moreover, pleaded that they were clerks, and would not, therefore, answer to the court.

Again:—Symon the clerk, and Richard Alpendache, clerk, broke open the house of John the Fuller. Richard Alpendache was taken and imprisoned at Wark; but afterwards, at the assize, was delivered over to the bishop as a clerk. William, the clerk of Whitfield, flies the country for stealing of one cow and other evil deeds.

There seems to have been some strange names in Tynedale in those days. May they not have been byenames bestowed on the parties? Adam Aydrunken accidentally upset a boat in the water of Tyne, so that he drowned thereby Beatrice his wife.*

* The same name occurs in 1 Sur. 269, 273. One of the most amusing illustrations of names in the record is at p. lvi., where the jury find that he who in a writ was styled *Wyman*, was rightly called *Seliman*.

At Newbrough, there seems to have been a family bearing the repulsive name of Unkutheman (unco' man). Cecilia, the wife of John Unkutheman, of Newbrough, destroyed herself, when pregnant, in her own chamber with a certain razor. The holders of this unlucky name appear to have been unfortunate. William Unkutheman and Elwald de Aldenestone were making a certain dam or fence *(sepem)*, in the water of Tyne. And the said William was striking upon a certain stake with a certain mallet to drive it into the ground, when the head of the mallet flew off, and striking Elwald upon the head, deprived him of life. Poor William Unkutheman was taken up and imprisoned for the homicide; but a verdict of accidental death was returned, "*et concessa est ei pax*" (and peace was conceded to him), says the record.

Bates the son of William (Williamson); Gilbert Trutte, son of Adam with the Nose *(Adam cum Naso)*, are fled for breaking into the house of Emma of Whitchester.

Sometimes the coroner, who seems to have been of much greater authority in those days, made short work of a thief; as when a certain unknown malefactor stole four geese in the town of Newbrough, and was taken in the act; and by order of Hugo de Ferewithescheles, the coroner, his ear was cut off.

At Bellingham, and further up Tyne, they seem to have dispensed with the coroner on these occasions altogether. Thus, Emma of Waynhoppe (Wenhope, near Kielder) was taken for theft at Bellingham, and there decapitated. And it was proved by twelve jurors that the townships of Bellingham, Euelingham, and . . . . . decapitated her without the coroner. "Wherefore they are at the mercy of the crown."

Again:—The hamlets of Dunclif (Donkley), Thorneyburne, and Tarsethope, are amerced in 20*s.* for decapitating a thief without the coroner.

All accidents, too, are presented by the coroner at the assize Matilda of Sadberg (near Wark) was found frozen to death at Poltadan. William Slipertoppe (Silvertop) was cutting down a certain tree in the wood of Chirdene, and the tree fell and killed him. Agnes, the wife of John Cupe, was killed by a portion of the millstone in the mill at Wark, while getting some corn ground there. But as

the mill was the property of our lord the King, no deodand was called for.

Huchtred of Linacres had to pay half a mark for refusing to feed the king's dogs.

Roger Graunge and William Bene are presented for having fished in the lake of Hugh of Grendon (Grindon Lough), by the order of William the Terrier (Terrarius), of Hexham, and against the will of the said Hugh. And the Prior of Hexham is ordered to produce his said canon.

Alexander, the miller of Wark, Richard and Gilbert, the millers of Euelingham, John, son of John de Nithesdale, and Robert Homel (Humble), have fished at the forbidden times and against assize.

False appraisement of cattle and goods of felons are constantly noted, and the parties heavily fined.

It is presented by twelve jurors that Allan of Irwin (Irvine ?) hath so beaten Gerard of Hesilyside that he was thought to have killed him, and he immediately fled. But the said Gerard still lives; so Alan may return if he will, but his cattle are confiscated for his flight, and are valued at 4*s*. for which the bailiff will answer.

In 1293, matters do not seem to have greatly mended. Margery, the widow of Adam Davidson, claims land in Shitlington, wrongfully seized by William de Swinburne, clerk. The indictment is invalid, for the offender is William de Whytefield, and not the priest. At this time, Hetherington, near Wark, seems to have been a village of tolerable size. It is now only a single farm house.

Robert de Bellingham and William de Bellingham, claim lands in Shitlington, and a right of common there. Their claim is resisted by John de Shitlington. William de Bellingham claims common right as a tenant of the Kings of Scotland, and Robert de Bellingham as tenant of the mill, at Bellingham; and they produce two charters of the Scottish King to prove it. John de Shitlington denys that the Scottish King has now any authority in Tynedale, and wins his cause.

John de Swynburne is summoned to show cause why he claims baronial rights and honours in Humshaugh and Haughton. He pro-

duces a charter from the King, Edward I., dated the 5th year of that monarch's reign, and his claim is instantly allowed.

Thomas and Nicholas, of the mill, at Bellingham, bring an action against Robert de Bellingham, for lands and tenements held by Gunnoca of the mill, their grandmother, but they fail to establish their claim.

Adam Teseman is summoned by Adam Polet, of Wark, for having struck him on the head, to the effusion of blood. Teseman shews that Polet intruded himself rudely into his house, and allows that he kicked him out of his dwelling, but avers he did it not with undue violence.

Robert de Brameham, brings an action against Richard, the provost of Walwick, for having imprisoned him at Walwick, for three days, without just cause. It appears that Brameham was passing through the village of Walwick, when a dog ran at him, and he drew an arrow at the dog to save himself, whereupon there rushed out a certain Alan Messor, with others, and seizing him, they shut him up in prison for three days and three nights; and for this he claims ten pounds damages. The jury, however, award him only ten marks.

John, the Chaplain of Newcastle, complains that five of his cows, valued at thirty shillings, were seized by John de Tecket, and by Richard le Multergreve. They reply that the said cows were feeding in the King's Park, at Wark, for more than a year, unclaimed, and then they were seized as waifs. The parson replies that he had often asked for his cows, but could not get them; but for all that he loses his cause.

William of Halton complains that David Rannulphson came to his dwelling at Sewingshields, and carried off the locks, and bars and bolts of his door, "tam in Hamis et Haspis et ligulis"—and took away a certain cow's skin, and finding a measure of wine in the house (dolium) they made free therewith. He fails, however, in his plea.

Having finished the law pleas, the Judges next proceed to consider the coroners' report. William de Bellingham, Robert de Blumville, Robert de Bellingham, and Matthew de Whytefield, were coroners for Tynedale. They report on all cases of sudden death, or of death by violence, in their district.

We have first an evil deed of a Robson. Thomas Robson broke, at

night, into the house of Ralph Bond, at Newbrough; and Ralph Bond, arising from his bed, seized his sword, and struck at random in the dark, about his house, and inflicted on Thomas Robson two wounds in his thigh, from the effect of which he directly died. The other burglars escaped, and are not known.

William, the parson of Rothbury, was smothered in a moss hole near Haltwhistle. No impossible death there, even at the present day.

Michael Lyteskyle (skyte ?) and William Brown, of Bellingham, Roger of Shitlington, David of the Huntlawe, William Hunter of Bellingham, Robert the miller of the same, John the Fleschhewer (flesher or butcher), John Dodd, and others, were indicted for robbery and murder, at Ninebanks, in South Tyne. Some of the robbers fled, others are taken, and forfeit all their goods.

Two cases of homicide, with an axe, are reported from Tarsethope and Hawkhope. And again, we have a murder by a Robson. William Robson killed Alicia, the daughter of Bernard the miller, and immediately thereafter fled, but in his flight was captured, and taken before William de Bellingham, the coroner, and thereupon was beheaded. And the townships of Hunteland, Chirdon, Tarsethope, and Charlton did not appear in full force at the execution, for which they are blamed.

John Proudfoot, of Bellingham, struck Richard the miller of that place with an axe on the head, so that he died five days after. Proudfoot fled the country, but his goods were seized, and they were worth 37*s.* 9*d.*

Two cases are mentioned where children are scalded to death. In both it is said they fell "in quodam cacabo pleno aqua calida." And the value of the vessel was xii^{d}.

Thomas Rome and Juliana, the wife of Robert the miller, fell off a horse into the Erringburn, and were drowned.

Robert, son of Adam of Whitfield, was killed by a fall of earth or stone, when digging coals, "fodendo carbones oppressus fuit sub terrâ."

Nearly a dozen persons are returned as having perished from cold on the moors, between Haltwhistle and Bellingham.

John Makam, of Keilder, dropped down dead in the market at Bellingham.

Thomas Scott, of Simonburn, wounded his wife Emma with an axe, so that she died four days after.

Adam of Thorngrafton, struck Uchtred Lytelskyte (?) with a knife in the belly, at Wark, so that he died the next morning.

The list of those who had fled the country to avoid punishment for theft or homicide, is long and curious. In it we find some singular names, such as Thomas Spalefot, John Dulpin-the-drit, Elyas Blessed-blod, Alicia Wyldebarn, William Titmouse.

William, the parson of Corbridge, was taken for a burglary in the house of Hugh of Burton, and was committed to prison at Wark, and convicted at the Assize. But as the bishop of the diocese had no "attornatus" there to claim his clerk, the said William was remitted to prison, from which he afterwards escaped, and fled to the church at Simonburn, where he was kept till he was claimed by Lambert, vicar of Warden, and taken to the prison of the Bishop of Durham, where he soon after died.

Adam Stokoe and Maurice Skot, are captured for the death of Adam Thompson, in the open market at Bellingham. Stokoe is acquitted, and Scott acknowledges the deed, but says he was forced thereto by William de Bellingham, the coroner, who, by many blows, and much ill-treatment, and by the threat of instant death unless he complied, constrained him to decapitate the said Adam Thompson, who had been convicted, by the coroner, of the murder of Emma of Caphope.

The salmon laws, for the preservation of this noble fish, were tolerably strict at this date. In 1268, it was presented at the Assize that a great destruction took place in the waters of the country, of the salmon, as they ascended the rivers to spawn. It was, therefore, provided that, from the feast of St. Michael (29th Sept.), to that of St. Andrew (30th Nov.) no net be drawn or put into the weirs or pools, and that no one fish in the Tyne, the Wansbeck, or the Coquet, with nets "stirkeldis" (torch fires ?), or any other engines during that time. And that from the 1st of May, to the 24th of June, no net is to be used, unless its meshes are large enough for the smelts (Salmunculi) to get through.

Two more centuries pass away now ere the curtain again rises on the fair vale of North Tynedale. The Herons had now replaced the

De Insulas, at Chipchase, the Widdringtons were in power about Haughton. During this interval, we find William Charlton established at Hesleyside; and in 1343, Edward Charlton holds the same. About the end of the fourteenth century, the tower of Hesleyside, the only tower above Chipchase, was probably constructed. Perhaps it was built by Edward Charlton, who owned Hesleyside, in 1343. One of the Charltons was at Agincourt, in the suit of Lord de Grey. That Tynedale was, however, not perfectly quiet during these two centuries is evident, from the "Monitio contra famosos latrones de Tynedale." In 1512, orders were issued from the Bishop of Durham, for the capture of certain men, who acted in contumacy towards the Bishop of Durham's authority, even after the greater excommunication had been fulminated against them. Among these were some of the Dods, Patrick, of Ealingham, Hunter, of Espleywood, and Peter, of the Greenhalgh.

In the letter of the Bishop of Durham, regarding the famous thieves of Tynedale and Reedsdale, the name of the Milburns first appears. In the records of Durham there is preserved an admonition or monitio against these malefactors. It is a long document, written in verbose Latin, and gives no very favourable picture of the condition of Tynedale and Reedsdale at this period, 1498. Not only are the majority of the inhabitants thieves and resetters of stolen goods, but the great men of these valleys do protect and hide the thieves from justice, both for clanship's sake, and for the benefit of partaking of their robberies. Nay, the priests of that country are most evil, they keep their concubines, they are irregular, suspended, excommunicated, and interdicted clergy, ignorant almost entirely of letters, so that for ten years they cannot read the words of the mass, as we have proved by examinations of them, "Uti quibusdam eorum opponentiis experti-sumus." And some are not ordained at all, but merely counterfeits of priests, and they dare to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice in profane and ruined places, with vestments torn, ragged, and most filthy, unworthy of divine worship, as though a contempt of God. And the said chaplains administer the sacraments to these said thieves, without compelling them to restitution, and bury them in consecrated ground. against the laws of the Church."

The document is imperfect, five leaves are wanting, containing the

names of those interdicted; but the letter testimonial of Richard, Bishop of Durham, given in the castle of Norham, on the 25th of September, 1498, releases from the sentence of excommunication Sandy Charelton, Crysty Milborne, Howy Milborne, Atkin Milborne, son of William Milborne, Lawry Robeson, Davey Robeson, Sandy Robeson, Gilly Dod, of ye Crake (Craig), alias of Smalemouth (Smalesmouth), George Dod, Roaly Dod, Barmy Dod, Sandy Dod, of the Shawe, George Marshall, and Sandy Hunter, on condition of their abstaining from all theft for the future. And, moreover, that after the 26th,. of September of the said year, they shall not wear a jacke, or a knapescall (helmet), they shall not ride a horse of the value of more than 6s. and viii^{d}., except it be against the Scots or the King's enemies. Nor shall they enter a church, or place consecrated to God, with any weapons exceeding the length of one cubit."

Was the Sandy Charleton named in these letters the same who, in 1518, is named as Alexander Charleton, of Shotlyington Hall, and who struck Alexander Elliott (Illot) with a dagger in the left side, below the arm, whereof Elliott immediately died? And this ill deed was done at Espleywood, near Faregirslawg, in Tynedale, on the Feast of St. James the Apostle, 1517.

The Elliotts were of Scottish surname, and perhaps the homicide resulted from a national quarrel. They are recorded in a Cotton M.S. as being at feud with the Fenwykes of Northumberland, as were the Armstrongs of Liddesdale with the Robsons of North Tyne; and Sir Thos. Musgrave reports that they are "grown soe to seeke blood, that they will make a quarrel for the dethe of their grandfather, and then wyll kyll anie of the name." We learn from the same report the very route taken by the Scottish invaders, Elliotts and Armstrongs, &c., when they rode a foray into England. "When Liddisdaill people make any invacions to the Fenwickes they goe without Bewcastell 10 or 12 miles, and goe by the Perl-fell withoute the Horse Head, near Keldar, and soe along above Cheapchase. When they goe to the water of Tyne, they goe by Kyrsoppe Head, and without the Gell Crage, and by Tarnbek and Bugells Gar, and soe along by the Spye Crage and the Lamepert, and come that way."

In the early part of the sixteenth century, Sir Ralph Fenwyke, of Wallington, was keeper of Tynedale, and he was sheriff of North-

umberland, in 1515, when Edward Charlton of Hesleyside became bond in £40 for Peter Lambert of Fourstanes, as appears from a document in the possession of the late John Fenwick Esq., of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Dnring the reign of Henry VIII. there was almost constant war upon the Borders, even when the monarchs of England and Scotland were at seeming peace with one another. It was a war of reprisals, of constant inroads from one side or the other, and was conducted in the most merciless fashion.

The inhabitants of Tynedale and Redesdale were evidently little to be trusted by the neighbours on the East, as well as by their Scottish foes on the West. These two rivers were closely watched every night along a line, extending from Haltwhistle in South Tyne, down to the junction of the Tynes at Warden, and from thence up the North Tyne to Chipchace. From Chipchace Ford, the line was carried by Throckrington, Sweethope, and Whelpington to the Coquet. Two watches were appointed to each ford. North Tyndale was considered as beginning at the Nook on the South side of the river, and at Reedsmouth on the North bank, and extending from thence up to the Bellyng, beyond which there were then, it is said, no habitations. In Sir Robert Bowes' survey of 1542, we have the following description of this district:—"All the said country of Tyndall is of the parish of Symondburne, and there standeth the parish church of the same; albeit, they have a chapel at Bellingeam, two or three miles west from Symondburne aforesaid, to the which chapel the inhabitants of Tyndaill resort, for the most part, to their divine service, and there have all sacraments and sacramentals ministered unto them. And there is another chapel also in the said dale, three miles above Bellingeam, at a place called the Faw Stone, used for private masses sometimes.

"At Bellingeam aforesaid, there is a little town, where all the inhabitants of Tindaill do meet and assemble at divers times, when they have any matter or causes in common to treat of among themselves. And in that town of Bellingeam dwell diverse victuallers, which prepare and ordayne bread, ale, and other victuals for the said Tyndaills.

"The houses, buildings, and habitations of the said country

of Tyndaill are much set on either side of the river of North Tyne, and upon other little brooks and runnels descending into the said river; in strong places by nature of the grounds, and of such strengths naturally fortified, as well by reason of mosses and morasses, which, with great difficulty, may be passed on horseback, as of banks and cleughs of wood, wherein of olden time, for the more strength, great trees have been felled and laid athwart the ways and passages, that in divers places it be only passable by such as know the said evil ways and passages, and it will be hard for strangers having no knowledge thereof to pass thereby in any order, and specially on horseback. In which natural strength and fortifications of such places, almost inaccessable, the said Tyndaills do much rejoice and embolden themselves, and when they be afraid, do rather trust in the strength of such places without their houses, than to the surety and defence of their houses. And, yet, surely the headsmen of them have very strong houses, whereof, for the most part, the outer sides or walls be made of great swair oak trees, strongly bound and joined together with great tenons of the same, so thick morticed, that it will be very hard, without great force and labour, to break or cast down any of the said houses. The timber, as well as the said walls and roofs, be so great, and covered for the most part with turf and earth, so that they will not easily burn or be set on fire.

"There be also, for the most part, a great number of the said Tindaills houses set so together in one quarter, that a fray or outcry made in one house may warn all the residue, and upon any fray or scrimmage made within any part of the said country of Tyndaill, forthwith the fray and outcry is so raised and set forth in such wise by all that heareth it, both men and women, that the country will be shortly thereby warned and assembled to know the cause thereof. And for the more part if it be for a quarrel or matter of any one of them against a true man pursuing after his goods spoiled or stolen, they will all take one part, and maintain such a cause as if it were their common matter, so that now, for dread of this, almost no man dare follow his goods, stolen or spoiled, into the said country of Tindaill."

Sir Robt. Bowes observes subsequently that, although there is much arable and pasture land in Tyndale, yet that the country is much

overpopulated, and not cultivated at all, "whereby the young and active people, for lack of living, be constrained to steal or spoil continually, either in England or Scotland, for maintaining of their lives."

In his second report of 1550, he continues in the same strain :— "That country of North Tyndall is much given to theft, and must be kept continually in dread of justice. The Tyndalls be so much inclined to wildness and disorder, and yet the Kings' Majesty hath no house of his own within the said country, apt or convenient for the ordering and correction thereof, save that George Heron, now keeper of Tyndale, uses his own house of Chipchace for that purpose, which is a very convenient place for the same. If the Kings Majesty's Castle of Langley were repaired, it would well serve for that purpose. And likewise would the Tower of Hexham serve if it were made something stronger, and had a house made adjoining thereto, sufficient for a keeper of Tyndale to dwell in, for when the Lord Dacre, that died, was keeper of Tyndale, there were certain prisoners rescued forth of that Tower by night by Tyndale men, by reason that the Tower standeth alone without the Town, and every man may come to the door of the prison and talk with the prisoners at all times.

"The country of North Tyndall, which is more plenished with wild and misdemeaned people, may make of men upon horseback and foot about six hundred, whereof there be commonly about two hundred able horsemen to ride with their keeper unto any service in Scotland.

"Of every surname there be sundry families or graynes, as they call them, of which there be certain headsmen, that leadeth and answereth all for the rest. And do lay pledges for them when need requireth, and there be some among them that have never stolen themselves which they call true men. And yet such will have rascals to steal for them, either on horseback or on foot, whom they do resett or at least receive part of the stolen goods ; or at least make all the means they may for the deliverance of such thieves. If any of them chance to be taken, either by composition with the party that owned the stolen goods, whereby to stop his pursuit, or else to labour with the officers by all means that they can to acquit and discharge such thieves

from just correction. There be very few able men in all that country of North Tynedale, but either they have been used to steale in England or in Scotland. And if any true men of England get knowledge of the theft or thieves that steal his goods in Tynedale or in Redesdale, he had much rather take a part of his goods again in composition than to pursue the extremity by the law against the thief. For if the thief be of any great surname or kindred, and be lawfully executed by order of justice, the rest of his kin or surname bear as much malice, which they call deadly feud, against such as follow the law against their cousin the thief, as though he had unlawfully killed him with a sword."

Such is the picture drawn by an able hand of the state of North Tynedale in the middle of the sixteenth century. We make no apology for reproducing this report here. It has, indeed, been printed at full length by Hodgson in his wondrous, but, alas, fragmentary "History of Northumberland." But that book, by reason of its rarity and great price, is inaccessible to many of our readers.

As early as the year 1514 we find from a hitherto unpublished letter of William and Christopher Dacre to Lord Dacre, the then Keeper of Tynedale, that this part of the country in no ways belied its evil fame.

W. and C. Dacre to Lord Dacre, 27th Feb., 1514.

My Lorde, your small frendes of Northumbreland is coming home eight days bygone, making great exclamacion in the contrey, saying that your Lordship muste make restitucion to all maner of parties complenand owder of the waistlands Tindale, or Redesdale, sens Branxton Field, but onely that S^{r} Willm Heron shuld discharge youe for Redesdale sens the tyme of his entry. My Lord, Tindale in no maner of wise wold cõm nowder afore me nor Sir Rauff Fenwyk, for no maner promesse surance writing ne seall that we did offre them, but that they ar sworne to gidre ilk one to take oder parte, and as it is supposed all by the councell of Sir John Heron of Chipches, for ther was at him Criste Milburne, Jame Dodd, Thomas Charlton of Carroteth, with odres of Tindale, and has putt the most parte of ther goodes away. My Lorde, we had daies appointed by them, a fyve or sex, alwaies trusting to haif, gotten them in by policye, and so they

have drave us from daye to daye, saying they were warned to kepe them furth, for if they com in ther muste twelf of them be taken and twelf of the waistland and all to be sent upp to London and there to be justified, and also that they had knowledge that they must haif a new officer, and your Lordship to go furth. Wherupon they did sende us there annswere in writing by Edward Charlton and William Charlton of Lehall, noon of them comyng to us that daye but onely they two, and so they all refused to com saufeng thies two personnes, whiche writing I do sende your Lordship herin closed. And so I perceiving that the said Edward wold not bring in thoes personnes that was in his band, but drave us on by colorable maner, and so I did arreste him, and did send him to the Toure whiche was upon Thursdaye, the 16 daye of Febr., and ther remaynes in Irunes to your Lordship pleaser be knowein. Also upon the Sondaye afture I did arreste Thomas Erington called Thomas Peepe, John Erington, the Angell his son, and Gib. Erington of Greneriche, and did sende them to the Toure, and there remaynes in Irunes in likewise to forder your said pleaser be knowen.

And upon Tewsdaye last past them of Tindale was gedred, and was fullye purposed to haif cõmen to Hexham and to haif broken the Toure. Notwithstanding I haif so provided for the sure custodie of the said personns that it is no perill, for I haif sex of your servauntes lieing in the chamber above the persone (prison), and a watche man on the Toure top, and also has caused thirtye personnes of Hexham towne to watche nightlye at the iiij quarters of the towne, and so I truste with grace of God it is out of jeopardie.

My Lorde, I haif sent worde to my broder, Sir Phillip, to be sure of such plegies and prisoners as remaynes at Morpeth, whiche is surelye keped and sure watche nightlye for the sure custodie of them, and so I truste they ar out of jeoperdie.

And as for such plegies and personnes as remaynes her they shalbe surely keped in like manner.

My Lorde, now in the light of this mone we shall make roodes, as well of them of Tindale as the Waistland, of such as will not com afore us according to your commandment by your writing sent to us and deliverd by Cristofer Legh.

My Lord, ye shall understand how many personnes is attached

that was named in your billes, and in what person they do remayne in to your forder pleaser, be knowen by a bill herin closed, and within shorte space we truste to gett moo that is in your billes.

My Lord, Jak Musgrave tuke Jame Nowble, called Yallow Hare, and kept him in Bewcastell ij dayes, and has latten him go at the desire of Clement Nixson. And so upon Thursdaye next comyng it is appointed that all thinabitantes of the Waistland shalbe afore us at Askertone by ther consent, and there to appere, and thoes that does not appere the plege of that surname to remayne her unto such tyme the oder of the surname bring in thoes that does not appere, besides the plegies that remaynes her for good reull of the contrey.

My Lorde, Afor (as for) Rynyane of Erington, whiche is in your bill, he is gone up to London with my Lord of Northumbreland as his servaunt, and if you would haif him ye may haif him there, for he was gone to my Lord of Northumbreland er your writing com to us.

And thus the Holye Trinite preserve your good Lordship to your hertes mooste desire and comforte. At Carlisle this Monday, the penulte day of Februarii.

Your Son and Servand,

WILLIAM DACRE.

CRYSTOFER DACRE.

[ADDRESSED.]

To my Lord Dacre is good
Lordship be this delivered.

Lord Dacre seems to have had no sinecure as Keeper of Tyndale and Redesdale, if we may judge from a letter, in his own handwriting, which we have obtained from the Record Office. It is true that this letter refers chiefly to the misdeeds of the Redesdale men, of whom Sir Robert Bowes says, "they are less bold, and hardly so misbehaved as the men of Tyndale." On this occasion, however, the "Hieland men of Ryddesdaile" seem to have thoroughly emulated the daring of their brother reivers of North Tyne.

We have, indeed, good proof that nearly a century before this time the Redesdale men were given to making free with their neighbours' goods. In Raine's "North Durham" there is an interesting letter printed at p. IV. of the General History, addressed from Durham on

the 13th day of November, 1446, apologizing to John Heron of Chipchase, for that the servants of the then Bishop of Durham had rescued certain cattle driven off by the Redesdale men, without previous application to John Heron as keeper of that part of the country.

Lord Dacre's letter of 1518 shows that in 80 years little improvement had taken place in the condition of the country :—

Thomas, Lord Dacre, to Wolsey, 23rd December [1518]:

My Lord, pleas it your Grace to wete I have received the King, our Soverein Lordes moost honorable letters by thandes of this berer White messenger, being date at Greenewiche, the xxv. daye of Novembre last past, and to me delivered there the xxi. daye of Decembre instante, wherby I pereive that his highnes is infourmed that diverse and many haynous murdors, robries, and ryottes ar committed and done within this countie of Northumbreland, and other parties therunto adjoining, to the disturbaunce of the peas and inquietacion of the King our Soverein Lorde's subjectes inhabitauntes therof. And of many unlawfull assembles maid by thinhabitantes of Tindale and Riddesdale, so that they rebelliously shuld have reskued and takin fro my servauntes certain malifactors by me takin and delivered to them to be brought to ward. And also slain diverse of my said servauntes having charge in the conducting of the said prisoners, wherunto the kinge's said highnes cann not geve assured credence till his highness be advertised of the certainte therof. Wherfor his said highnes has commandit me to make certificate of and upon the playn troughe (truth) in all the premisses, and to endeybor me effectually by politique meanes for the repressing of siche insolent demeanor of the highlandes men, so that upone baldness of the same haynous dedes they be not incouraged to procede ferther. For the kinge's said highnes is enfourmed that they ar now unite to gidres and determynet to contenue in ther perverse purpose whiche must be repressed at the begennyng, orels (or else) it will growe to greater inconvenientes. And for that purpos the kinge's said highnes is moche desirerous not oonly to knowe the certainte of ther demeanors, but also myne opinyon what I think best to be done therin to thintent that if the premisses be trew his highness may provide further aide and assistaunce for me as the case shall require. And ferther his

highe commandment is that I shall take especiall regarde to the punysshment of ryottes, felonyes, and mayntenors of receptours which dayly sley and rob the pore cõmonaltie of these partes. And as it affirmed som gentilmen shuld be the doers, and som the receivers and manteners of the said detestable actes. And as it is supposed lak of dew punysshment, and not executing of the king our said soverain lorde's lawes is thoccasion of all thes enormities, whiche if it so were is the kinge's comãndment to be forsene and remedied.

My Lorde, pleas it your Grace to be advertised of the reull and ordre of this the kinge's Countie of Northumbreland, considering it lieth so nighe ad'yinyng the marchies of Scotland, I trust it be not ferr out of frame, but oonly in certain poyntes wherof at my last being above I gaf your Grace a bill of enformacion of the names of them that was the maynteners. And now I have made your Grace an oder bill of the same herin closed. And if the same persons were sent for by privey seall tappere (to appear) in the Starred Chambre, and the same maturs laid unto their chargies, I trust it shuld doo much good and also pruffit to the kinge's highness be reason of their fynes. And if any of them be not of verey troughe, I am contented to bere there coostes and chargies that so can be proved contrary afore your Grace.

And as unto the Highelandes men of Riddesdale trough it was that I had arrested x. persons of the moost principall and erraunte chefes emonges them, and them had in the castell of Harbottell by the space of ij dayes, and sent for the gaoler and the baillifs of the shire with others of my Tennauntes, all to the number of lxxx. persons, on horsebak, and sent the said chiefs with my householde servauntes to Rothbury Gate, vi. miles from Harbottell, to make deliverance of them there, trusting to me that all peril was past, seing that my householde servauntes was betwene them and the said Highelandes. And yet that notwithstanding the said Highelandes men of Riddesdale had suche espiell and kepit them self secrete and close. And at a strayt pathe mett my said tennantes, and killed my ballif of Morpeth and other six persones his neighbors, and took the gaoler and other iiij persons with hym and had them into Scotland, wher as yet the said gaoller and some oder with hym sittes in preson, wherof I have made compleynte to the Wardain, and so to the lordes of Scotland, and

trustes to have remedie therof. Ther is fled into Scotland to the nombre of xxij of the principal persons and the residue ar fledd in other parties wher as yet they ar nott knowen of. And diverse other persons that cam to the same effrey I have takin in upon suyrties of ther good abering. And this is the verey troughe of the matier. And as for any insurreccions or banding ther is none, nor yet lykly to be, wherby the kinge's said highnes shalbe putt to no chargies for subdueing therof. And I trust the kinge's said highnes and your Grace shall here tell that siche diligence shalbe made for the punyssh-ment therof as may be. And yet by fortune the moost principall man, called Thomas Pott, that the said Insurreccion was made for, was kepit still with my self for examinacion of his robberyes, who is putt to execucion for the same. And the blessed Trinite preserve your Grace. At Harbottell, the xxiij day of Decembre.

Yours with hyes serves,

THOMAS DACRE.

[ADDRESSED.]

To my Lord Cardinalle's Grace.

In 1523 the Bishop of Carlisle writes as follows to Cardinal Wolsey :—

"Ther is more thefte, more extorcyon by Englis theffs (thieves) than there is by all the Scotts of Scotland. Ther is noo man which is nott in a hold strong that hathe or maye have any cattell or move-able in suretie through the bishopryke, and from the bishopryke till we com within viii. myles of Carlisle, all Northumberland likewise, Exhamshire which loongeth (belongeth) to your Grace worste of all, for in Exham selfe every markett day ther is four score or a hundred strong theffs, and the poore men and gentilemen also seethe them whiche did robbe them and ther goddys (goods) and dare nother com-playn of them by name, nor saye one word to them. They take all ther cattell and horse, ther corne as they carrye yt to sow, or to the mylle to gryne (grind), and at ther houses they bedd them delyver what they will have, or they shall be fyred and bornt."

In 1523, a tremendous raid was made into Scotland from all parts of the marches, at the suggestion of the English King. The Earl of Northumberland, writing to the King, promises "to lett slippe

secretlie them of Tindaill and Riddisdaill for th'annoyance of Scotland —God sende them all good spede!" *

In September, 1523, the Earl of Surrey executed sharp justice on the Tindale men, and amoug those hanged on this occasion was Jamie Dodd of the Burnmouth in Tarsett, "the most named theif of all others." Probably he was the Jame Dodd mentioned in the letter of Wm. and Christopher Dacre.

Earl of Surrey to the King, 2nd Sept. 1523.

Plesith it your highnes too be advertised that of late I have caused six arrand thevys too be attached, twoo of Tyndale, twoo of Ridsdale, and twoo of other places of Northumbreland, for offences lately comytted, and have by your lawes put theym to execucion, one ot them was named Jamy Dod of the Burnemouthe the mooste named theif of all others, and iiij of thoders were very talle men. At this same tyme were in likewise attached twoo other thevys of my Lorde Dacre's tennantes of Gilesland. And being put in a prison nere unto where they were taken, iiijxx. of their kynnysmen and frendes of my Lord Dacre's tennantes came yesterdaye in the mornyng and brake the hous and hurte dyvers men and toke away the thevys. The contre roose upon theym, and toke one of theym that helped too reskewe theym whome I nowe have in my custody.† And my Lorde Dacre with all diligence is retourned into his contre too attache a good nembre of thoffenders, and too send theym to me whome if I maye have I truste soo to ordre theym that others shalbe afferd too comyt like offences againste your Grace. Mooste humble beseching your Grace too loke upon this poure contre which by the contynnell murders and theftes comytted and doon by Tyndale and Ridsdale men and others of Northumbreland and other contres under my Lord Dacre's rewle was nere brought too uttir confusion.

And that it may like your Grace if I maye by your high poure bring this contre to any good ordre tappointe one too have the rule here aftir me as may contynue the same.

And aftir my poore opinion under your Grace's high correccion if

* Sir Ralph Fenwick led the men of Tynedale, and Sir William Heron the men of Redesdale, on this foray into Teviotdale.

† This probably refers to the breaking of Morpeth Gaol, and the capture of Henry Yarrow by William Swinburne.

your pleasure bee to have me retourne to your Highnes soon aftir Michelmas. As I truste your Grace woll have me too doo it were convenyente, not onely incontynente tappointe him but.alsoo too send hym hither, considering that it is nowe not fully one moneth too Michelmas. And if he were here with me a good season before my departure he shuld the better serve your Grace when I were goon eftsonys mooste humble beseching your Highnes too tendre the premysses, and to advertise me of your gracious pleasure. Herein written at Newcastell the ij^{de} daye of Septembre.

Your most humble Subject and Servant,

T. SURREY.

[ADDRESSED.]

To the Kinge's mooste noble Grace.

Memorandum. That Nicholas Thornton of Witton took Hodde Hall, a Riddesdale man, in Northumbreland, when he was riding in Steling (stealing).

Md. That John Browne of Windyates, Rauff Brown dwelling besides Witton, tenauntes to the said Nicholas Thornton, and Berte Shawdon, and one man called the gared Taillour, household servauntes to the said Nicholas, was taken by the Ogles when they all iiij was in Steling in Northumbreland.

Med. That Sir William Lisle took one John Hall, and Rauff Hall, Lioll Hall, Riddesdale men, and let them goo.

Med. Also that one Kyssop, servaunt to the said Sir William, was taken by the Ogles when he was in Steling.

Med. That Hoge Fenwik, of Attercops, kepith and receptith Wille Aynseley Scott, viij dayes togidres, every moneth.

Item. Thom Brown of the Cotewalles stole the Priour of Tynmouth's horse, and his brodre was kepit in prison onto the said horse was yeven again.

Item. That Thomas Foster Marshall, of Berwick, took William Cokson, of Ellisden, and one oder Riddesdale men.

Med. That William Swinburn of Captheton took Henry Yurrey of Tyndall when he was at the breking of Morpeth Castell.

Thomas Langton, of Langle, took certain Tindale men steling, and let them goo.

On the 3rd of October, 1523, Surrey writes from Newcastle to

Wolsey—"I have also knowledge by men of the contre, bnt not as yett by the captaynes, that Sir Rauf Fenwyke on hys quarter, and Sir William Heron on hys quarter, have made two very good roodes, and have gotten muche insight gear, catall, horse, and prisoners, and here returned withoute los." And King James V. of Scotland, writing to Henry VIII., complains that "the greatest of all attemptes that was done against our legys (lieges) during the hele war has been committed upon our middle marchies be certaine zoure legys, of the surnames of Doddis, Charltonis, and Mylbornis, under the care of Schir Rauf Fenwik, who, on the 6th daye of this instant monthe, has cummin within the groundes of Tevydaill, reft and spoilzid sundrie gudis, murdyrit five men, and utheris left in perill of deid."—(4 State Papers, 666.

On this occasion Sir Ralph Fenwick led a willing army against the hereditary foe; but, as has happened to other great leaders, his then supporters were soon after arrayed against him. Not ten months after this great and most successful inroad, he was once more in Tynedale on another errand, seeking to apprehend one William Ridley, an outlaw, and probably a fugitive from the South Tyne.* He had with him on this occasion a force of 80 horseman, and appears to have taken up his quarters in the tower of Tarsett Hall. His presence there does not seem to have been agreeable to the Tindale men, who energetically espoused the cause of Ridley. "William Charlton, of Bellingham, having 200 of the seyde inhabitants of Tyndail reteigned, bound, and bodilye sworne uppon a booke to him alwaies to take hys parte, hering of the sayd Sir Rauff being ther, assembled parte of theim diligenteley, and freshley set upon the said Sir Rauff, and not onely put him from hys purpose af attackinge the sayd Ridley, but alsoe chased the sayd Sir Rauff out of Tyndaill, to his great reproache." The insult offered to the King's majesty, in the person of Sir Ralph Fenwick, was speedily avenged by Thomas Lord Dacre, who seized the person of William Charleton, and also took, at the Bridal of Colwell, Roger Charleton, his Brother, and Thomas Charleton of the Careteth, "by whom all the inhabitaunts were governed, led, and ready at their commaundment." He describes these three as pledge-

* William Ridley was concerned in the murder of Nicholas Featherstonhaugh.

breakers and receivers of the stolen goods procured by the other marauders, and advises that they shall be forthwith judged and executed. Immediately after the seizure of these three "hedesman," Lord Dacre commanded the inhabitants of Tyndale to meet him the next Sunday in Bellingham Church. The Robsons, however, one of the surnames, held out and would not give pledges, whereupon Lord Dacre sent out a party that night, seized four of that surname, and among these Robert Robson, the fourth hedesmen, whom he at once, and for the terrifying of the others, *Justified*, or executed, on the spot.

Lord Dacre had been up to this time in no great favour at Court, as it was rumoured that he was too indulgent to the Borderers. He accordingly wrote a long letter of defence to Wolsey on the 25th April, 1524:—

Dacre to Wolsey, 25th April, 1524.

[EXTRACT.]

My Lorde, pleas it your Grace, I received your two severall lettres, the one dated at Grenewiche the last day of Marcii, and the oder at your place besides Westmynster the vj day of this instant monethe of Aprill, by the contynne wherof I do perceive the manyfolde doctrines and advertisementes that your Grace doth geve me, as well for conservation of the Borders, punnyshement of malefactors, contynuall annoysaunce to our ennymyes, as also for the apprehending of viij. personnes sent in a cedull within your seid lettres. And albeit that Sir Willm Heron and Sir Rauf Fenwik, Knightes, be admytted by the Kinge's Highnes to be Kepers of Tyndale and Redesdale, no reasonable annswer or lawfull excuse maid by me for vj. of the seid personnes inhabiting within Tyndale can be accepted by your Grace. But I to be chargied, and they to ayde me for thattaching of theim, the like wherof hath not hertofore bene sene. Notheless seing this busy tyme of warr, and that Tyndale is so far from me, or fro any lande or dwelling place that I have or used to dwell in as Herbottell, and others wherby I cannot with subdein roodes or jorney com closly upon theim, like as ther officers might, yete if it be my chaunce and fortune to git any of theim (for the whiche I shal bothe sendie and laubor by all the laufull and honest meanes that I can possible),

I shall attache theim, without it be thay com to common tristes for good ordor and reformacion wele of the realme and use of the marchies as wardeins hertofore haith bene accustumed, whiche if they so do must nedes departe again fre, thoughe they had slaine my broder or frende. And in caace I can gitt noon of theim, yete I shall so do that my good will and mynde shalbe knawen not deffective what tyme as I shall ever afore your Grace.

Notwithstanding the contrary surmyses maide to your Grace of the state of the countrey, assuring your Grace it is in as good ordor, and rather better, now then it was in at the departure of my said Lorde Treasaurer. And no robories commytted within his tyme then hath bene commytted sens my entre, as I wol abyde by. For after the insurrection of thinhabitantes of Tindale, maide upon the said Sir Rauff Fenwik their bailif, afore or my Lorde Treasaurer departed no punyshement or correction being maide for the same. My said Lorde Treasaurer departed and no way tooke with theim, but oonly that my seid lorde had communicacion with a parte of Tyndale. And therupon drew a booke of articles, signed with his hande, taking abstinence with theim, touching their good demeanor and abering to be kept to a certein daye, which booke he left with me. And I do rakyn, under correction of your Grace, if I kepe Tyndale in as good ordor and better then I founde it in, and, according to the tenor of the seid booke, I shulde serve no blame. And for proyf of the same, I beseche your Grace to auctorise siche as shall best pleas your Grace by commission to make due serche and examynation whidder the premissies of the countrey Tindale, and attemptates with exploytes done be trew or not, to thintent the Kinge's said Highnes and your Grace, may be surely ascertained therof wherunto ye wol geve credence, thoughe your Grace take my writing concernyng the same lately as frustrate.

Yours with his serves,

THOMAS DACRE.

[ADDRESSED.]

To my Lorde Legate's Grace.

Wolsey approved highly of Dacre's activity about the Charltons, and desired they might be executed at once:—

Wolsey to Dacre, 11*th June*, 1524.

[EXTRACT.]

And to the residue of the contentes of your said lres depending most upon the matiers of justice. The Kinge's Highness moche alloweth and commendeth your demeanor, not only in apprehending first of William Charleton, of Bellingham; Roger Charleton, his brother, Thomas Charleton, of Careteth, with your opinyion for putting the said William to execucion, for the reasons and consideracions specified in your said lettres, but also willeth you that, considering the demerites of the said Roger and Thomas Charleton, ye abiding the tyme of the sessions, whiche myzt geve a comfort to them and other malefactours, shal see aswel them as suche other as ye may apprehende and shalbe founde culpable in like offences, to be immediately, and withoute tracte of tyme, executed according to the ordre of justice, and their demerites, to the fereful example of other whiche elles myzt attempt and presume to commytte like offences, which thing don, I assure you shal be a great furtherance to the good ordre and restfulnes of those parties. And, therfore, it is not to be doubted but ye wol regarde it accordingly. Sembably the Kinge's Highnes being right wel contented with the execucion don upon Robert Robson, wol that ye in likewise procede againste the residue of the iiij of the surname of Robsons, whom ye have in warde for like offences, not abyding the commyng of the justices of assize, in avoiding the inconvenientes before specified.

And as touching Sir Nicholas Ridley, in as moche as he, contrary to your speciall commandement, hath put Henrison, being an errant thiefe and felon, to libertie, at his own hande without auctorite, and that William Ridley, being his kynnesman and a like malefactor, who is now fled in to Scotland, was, bifore his departure, supported by the said Sir Nicholas. Albeit that any person shal make sute for the pardon of the same Sir Nicholas, yet, ye may be sure, the Kinge's Grace is resolved and determyned not to graunte or passe the same, but that as egal justice shalbe administred unto hym if he have so desired, and that it be not don for any particuler displeasure, as shulde be upon other malefactors. And, therfore, ye, showing the same on the Kinge's behalf to the said Sir Nicholas, may take suche

ordre with hym, that by his meanes, and for the better declaracion of hymself, the said Willyam Ridley may be taken. Wherin if he be remysse, seing as ye write he may do it, it shal be a more apparant evident to his own condempnacion. For it is not convenient that the Kinge's Grace shulde write unto suche a malefactor, being prisoner. But that if he trust upon any favor or mercy, he shal so declare and use himself, otherwise that he may do som thing towardes the deservyng of the same. And by this meanes, keping him stil in warde, withoute putting him to any libertie, bayle, or maynprise, ye shal best fynd the way to attayn the said William Ridley, and he, nevertheless, to be ordred for his rightful punishement, as ye shal se to stande with equite and justice.

Fynally, to thintent ye may be the more duely obeyed in exercising your office in the west marches, I wol sende you by the next post the Kinge's commission, conformable to the divice and minute accustomed, whiche ye sente unto me in that behalfe. Praying you that, according to the special trust and confidence that the kinge's highness and I have in you, ye wol contynue and preserve in this good trayn and disposicion for the quiete ordering of that countrey. Ascertaynyng you, it is thought by the Kinge's Highnes, that fynding a multitude of malefactors, if they shulde amounte to the nombre of xl., whiche have deserved execucion of dethe, ye shulde not lett ne deferre, by auctorite of your wardeynship and justice of peax, to porge those parties of them, and to ordre them, according to justice, withoute abiding the tyme of sessions or otherwise, wherby ye shal bring the people there in to such terre and drede, that they shal not dare thus presumptuously and contemptuously offende the Kinge's lawes, to the hinderance and, in manner, destruction of those parties. And, consequently, taking pledges of the other parties as ye have don in Tyndale, and attaching suche malefactors as wol not fynde like pledges whom the Kinge's pleasure is ye shal, in that cace punnyshe or put to execucion, according to the qualities of their demerites. Ye shal reduce those countreys to as good and peasible ordre as any other parte of the Kinge's realme, to your great honor, and to the Kinge's singler contentacion. And for my parte, I shall in your good doing the more tenderly and entierly favor and love you, being moche the gladder to helpe further and advaunce any thing that may be to your

weale, honor, or profite, like as (persisting after this sort and fashion) ye shal fynde the experience of the same accordingly. Thus fare ye hartely wel. At my place besides Westminstre, the xjth day of June.

Your lovyng frende,

T. CAR^{LIS} EBORX.

Lord Dacre lost no time in obeying these injunctions, as appears from the following letter :—

Dacre to Wolsey, 8 *July*, 1524.

My Lord, pleas it your Grace, to wete, that, according to youre commandment to me, geven in youre lettre dated at Westminstre, the xj. daye of Junii last paste, this daye I have kept a Session, and have put to execution of dethe Willm Charlton, of Bellingeham, in Tyndale, and Roger Charlton his broder. As for Thomas Charlton, of Caryteth, he is this daye acquite and clened of the matier that was laid ageinst hym, albeit, I have so provided that he is newly indicted of an oder felony, wherupon (God willing) he shall be reigned within brief tyme, and in likewise put to execution as the oder two be. Also, there ar two of the Robsons, whiche were taken with Robert Robson, of Byndmyrehill [Bimmerhill] casten, and this daye put to execution, and the thrid Robson is acquite and clened. And besides thes, there is one named Percyvell Grene, who was as disordred an errraunt theif and treitor as any cowthe be, and for many and diverse felonies by hym committed, fled out of this realme and tooke the benefice of Scotland, of whome my Lord Treasurer can enforme your Grace which Grene (for the said treason) is casten and put to execution, and so jugied to hyng in an irne chayne unto suche tyme as his bones and synewes rott in sonder. Also (over and besides the said persons), there ar othre thre thiefes in likewise put to execution this same daye. And so in all there be viij. casten and executed. And yete, I have oders which were not brought furth at this tyme, and as it shall pleas God to sende us moo, they shall have like ordre according to their demerites and by thordor of Justice.

And furthre, I shall endevor me, to the beste of all my power, to accomplish the King, our Soverain Lorde's, high commandmente and pleasur, and your Grace is in thadministration of justice and keping

of thees countreys in good and quiete ordre, which, I truste at this tyme, be in metely good trayn. Trusting to God they shall alwey increas to better, with good following upon, and keping of Wardein Cortes and Sessions, which, God willing, shall not be slakked.

Pleas it also, your Grace, upon Tewisdaye, the vth daye of this month, I sent my broder Sir Philippe Dacre, Knight, into Scotland, accumpanied with Sir Rauf Fenwyk, Kny^{t}, Leonard Musgrave, Edward Aglyonby, and John Tempest, capteins of a parte of the Kinge's garrysons lyeng here, upon his marchees and oders of the countrey men being in the hole, to the nombre of on M. men, who rode to their purpose, and brent a grete towne, called Smalholme, iiij. myles above Kelso, which was not brent of many yeres agoo, and not only seased miche catall, but also wan miche bagage, and so retorned homewardes. And in their said retornyng, the Scottes of Tevidale (proposeing to have maid a jorney into this realme) did espie or ooste in their said home commyng. And so the said Tevidale men being retorned of their purpose foresaid, and accumpanied with the marshe men (being to geder in the hole nombre mm men) lighted and lay closely in our men is waye. And so when our men did se the said Scottes, they in likewise lighted, and with a good and fresh courage set upon the same Scottes and put them to the flighte, and thereupon lap on horsbak againe, and chaced the said Scottes, and slew about xxx persons of them, and took nigh upon cccth, and wan thre standerdes, notwithstanding that by good fortune a parte of the said Scottes kept themselfes to geders, and (when our men were skaled in the said chace) set upon the hynderende of our said chace, and there slew John Heron the bastard and other vj persons, and took the said Sir Rauf Fenwyk and Leonard Musgrave, and about xx persons with theim prisoners, and reskued a parte of Scottes prisoners. Albeit, thorow the grace of God and by good fortune, our said men being in the chace (not knowing of the chance hapned behinde theim unto tyme the crye rose) retorned and left that chace, and not onely chaced the said Scottes that sett upon the hynder end of our men, but also slew and took parte of theim, and kept and wan the feild clere without any further doubte, and so cam home without any more hurte or damage, which I assure your Grace was a fare fortune, seying that of trouthe the Scottes were two for one. And fynally, for

conclusion herein, our men being commen home, have clerely brought away upon cc persons, and the Scottes had clerely away the said Sir Rauf Fenwyk and Leonard Musgrave, and about xx persons prisoners with theim. And over this, Andrew Ker, being Wardein of the Middill Marchies of Scotland, and Marke Ker, his uncle, as sore and evill hurte, insomiche no man trusteth that they shal lyve, and many other Scottes are evill hurte. And I assure your Grace that this is the trouthe of the matier.

As for newes of Scotland, surely I have none of effecte, but the Scottes do persevere and entende to stik at the promisse which they have made to the Duc of Albany, and (as they say) woll in no wise flyt frome it. As knoweth the Holy Trinite, who ever preserve your Grace. At Morpath, the viijth night of Julii.

Yours, with hys serves,

THOMAS DACRE.

[ADDRESSED.]

To my Lord Legate's Grace.

Indorsed—" Reddit viij. July.

On the 23rd July, Norfolk tells Dacre that the execution of the Charltons and Robsons are better taken by the King and Council than anything he has done, and has extinguished the rumour that he favoured evil doers.

In June, 1524, Lord Dacre commanded Sir Ralph Fenwick to issue the following proclamation at Bellingham Kirk, "at the messe tyme on Sondaie"—

Copie of a Proclamacion.

Thomas, Lord of Dacre and Gilleslande, Wardein of all the Marchies of Englande foranempt Scotlande, and Rauf Fenwik, Knight, Bailif of Tyndale, chargies and commandes all and evry thinhabitantes of Tyndale, betwene thages of lx. and xvj., personally tappere afore us at the courte of Wark, in Tyndale, which shal holde on Friday, the fast of the Nativitie of Sainct John Baptist first comyng, that is to say, the xxiiij. daye of this monethe of Junii, for good reull of the countrey. And that all personnes that has founde no suerties as yete, that they com in and speke with us there to thintent if they

woll finde suretie by plegies for good reull to be kept that they be accepted and takin as other good and wele disposed men of Tindale is. And if we and they agre not, and that they woll or cannot finde sureties for good reull, they to depart frely againe without let or disturbaunce. And if ther be any person that pleges are laid for whiche standes in any doubte or feres to com in, we wol they com nere the towne and send to us for assourance, whiche they shall have graunted fre to com and goo for all thinges, saving good reull to be kept. And that no person be absent at their perilles. At Sawarde, the xvj. daye of June, the xvj. yere of our Soverain Lorde's reigne, King Henry the Eight, undre my seale and signe manuall.

Sir Ralph had, therefore, soon been released after his captivity by the Scots.

In March, 1524, the Tynedale men and Scots combined, made a terrible foray on their own countrymen. William Franklin writes from Durham to Cardinal Wolsey :—

"Please y^{r} most honorable Grace to understand upon Tuesday last, the xxviiith of Marche, the Hyland theeves with banyshed men, to the numbre of foure hundred men, accompanyed with many Scotts, came to Ingoo and Kirkheton, in Northumberland, and overrane the countrey too within eight myles of Newcastell, when they slew seven menne out of hande, and hurte dyvers moo in perell of dethe, setting fyer on the saide townes, and drove away all the goodes and cattall lying in ther way. The saidde theeves be nowe in such comforte and audacitie, bye reson, it is bruted (bruited) here, bye the Lord Dacre's freends, that he shall have the hooll (whole) governaunce of the countreye, that theye bee much more ryotouse than ever they wer by fore."

Within a month after this inroad, in April, 1524, the arm of the church was had recourse to, to arrest the disorders of Tyndale; for Cardinal Wolsey then caused an interdict to be laid on all the churches of Tyndale, though Redesdale, as being then tolerably quiet, was exempt from censure. On the Scottish side, the Archbishop of Glasgow published, at the same time, an interdict and excommunication against the outlaws of Liddesdale, couched in the strongest possible language. The document may be read at full length in 4 State Papers, 417, but we forbear to reproduce it as it is in the

Scottish tongue, and would lose much of its force by translation. We only give a short extract of this very lengthy proclamation. The worthy Archbishop does not spare his lawless countrymen. "All the malesouns and waresouns that ever gat warldlie creatur sen the begynning of the warlde to this hour mot licht apon yaim (them). I curse thair heid, and all ye haris of thair heid; I curse thair face, thair een, thair mouth, their neise, thair toung, thair teith, thair craig, thair schulderis, thair breist, thair hert, thair stomok, thair bak, thair wame, thair armes, thair leggis, thair handes, thair feit, and everilk part of thair body, fra the top of thair heid to the soill of thair feit, before and behind, within and withoute." But the Borderers seem to have reverenced neither church nor King, for Willm. Frankelyn, writing to Wolsey in 1524, tells the Cardinal—"After the receipts of your Grace's sayd letter we caused all the chyrches of Tindaill to be interdicted, which the theves there temerariously disobeyed, and caused a Scots frere (friar), the sayd interdiction not withstanding, to mynistre them theyre communion of his facion, and one Ector Charlton, one of their capeteynes, resaved the parsonnes dewties and served them all of wyne." He adds "The saying of Sir Edward Todd, priest," concerning the order of Tynedale men on Good Friday last past, viz., "that on that day Hector Charlton declared in his presence, and that of Sir John Alde, priest, that he, Hector, did no thing sithen the departure of the Lord Dacre, his master, but that it was his pleasure and commandment; that Hector kept company with Gerard his brother and other felons of Tynedale, to espy bourdes that he may cause the Lord Dacre laugh when he comes home; that Hector, with Henry Pluck and Nicolas, took the Blessed Sacrament forth from the sepulchre in Bellingheam Church, and one firkin of wyne and 800 breads, and carried the same into a place called Tarsett Hall, but next day brought them back to Bellingham, where they got a Scotch friar to give the Sacrament to a number of evil disposed people."

The tradition of the country tells us that this was Hector Charlton of the Boure, on Chirdon Burn, the ancestor of the late Charlton of Reedsmouth. Proclamation was made at Bellingham and elsewhere against giving food to the outlaws, and for "kepying of thare wyffes and servantes from markets;" and most of

the outlaws seemed disposed to come to terms, stating that if their own lives and those of their pledges given into the hands of the sheriffs were respected and made safe, they would then submit to the King. "Thys aunser dyd all the theves of Tindaill give except Gerard Charlton, and one Ector Charlton, two great capeteynes amongst them, which Ector said that he was servaunte to the Lord Dacres, and that he never wolde submyte himself to the tyme he shold se the sayd Lord Dacre."

The severity of Lord Dacre's rule in North Tynedale, raised against him a host of enemies. Amongst these, no doubt, were the "surnames" which had suffered so severely from his energy in Tyndale; and when he was tried at Westminster Hall, in 1536, his patronage of Hector Charlton of the Boure was brought in accusation against him. A copy of the articles of accusation is still extant in the possession of Sir John Swinburne, of Capheaton, and has been printed by Hodgson, Pt. 3, Vol. I.—*Art. XIV.* "Item, in proof of favour borne by the said Lord Dacre to thieves consorting there in their misdemeanour, two thieves were taken in Gilsland, beside Lanercost, with the 'maynore' of certain cattle by them feloniously stolen and delivered to the order of the said Lord Dacre, which at the request, of Hector Charleton, one of the greatest thieves in those parts, familiarly and daily conversant with the said Lord Dacre, the said thieves, were by the said Lord Dacre delivered to the said Charleton to be ordered at his pleasure, which Hector Charleton did ransome the said thieves, and suffered them to go at large for twenty nobles of money, which thieves and their friends have delivered and paid the same sum to the said Charleton with goods stolen from the King's true subjects."

Lord Dacre, in his answer to this accusation, replies, that the two men after being long in prison were found not guilty, and that thereupon he delivered them to William Charlton and Hector Charleton, "and whett thaie dyd with them, the sayd lorde knowithe not." The date of these articles of accusation is not accurately known, probably they were drawn up some years before Lord Dacre's trial, in 1536. We are not able to fix the exact date of another exploit of the Tyndale men, referred to in the XVIth article of accusation, whereby it seems that one Cokes Charleton had been taken and confined in Lord Dacre's castle of Morpeth, but was rescued by a party of the Tyndale

men, no doubt of his own "grayne," who "brak the castell of Morpeth on the nyghte, and the prisone wher the sayd theff with two felons were and took hym out." It was, probably, on this occasion that William Swinburne, of Capheaton, retook Henry Yarrow, of Tyndale, one of the escaped felons.

In 1525, Sir Ralph Fenwick was again roughly handled in North Tyndale. Early in the year, he was left in Tarsett Castle with 100 men to keep rule in the country. Similar garrisons were placed at Chipchase and Hesleyside, as appears by the following letter of Eure to Wolsey, dated May 16th :—

Sir William Bulmer and Sir William Eure to Cardinal Wolsey, 16th May, 1525.

Pleas it your grace to be advertysed. We dyd wryt a letter untoe Master Magnus, in Scotland, toe move the Counsell of Scotland that thei shulde nott ayd nor assist the Kynge's rebelles of Tyndall within Scotland. And he hath mayd us answer, thatt he wyll so doo. And for his advice concernying the abstynence of werr, and if he had eny knowlege their of. And how at we and owr deputyez shulde use our selfes their in, and so, by his advise, their is abstynence taken for xv. daez. At the last day of trew, as was thought by our deputyez, the Scottes was helye mynded, and with greatt company, and our deputyez was enformed thay entended to have doyne thayme sum displeasor. Wheruppon thay have shewed untoe us thatt they have called uppon the gentilmen of the countrye, and of the commitye of the saym, as use and custom hathe beyn. And thai wyll nott ryse with thayme, so thatt thai er nott able in nombre to meytt the Scottes, wherfor, we suppos, thatt the countrye thynkes thatt we be nott able persons to rewll thayme, besechying your Grace to tak no displeasor with us, tho we, accordyng to owr othez and trewths untoe the Kynge's highenes and your Grace, discharge owr selfes toe ascertaign your Grace the trewthe. We thynk thatt itt is necessary yf it myght stand with the pleasor off the Kynge's highenes and your Grace, thatt thei wer sum noble man sent intoe this countrye, and loeth we wer seyng, your Grace is so good untoe us as ye be, thatt we shulde nott serve the Kynge's highenes and your Grace as we shulde doe. For and if we shulde call of the countrye, we thynk

thatt thei wyll nott serve us. And as it shall pleas your Grace, heir in we beseche yow, thatt we may know your pleasor how as we shall ordre ourselfes, and if we shuld have eny more spekyng with the Scottes, if thai require uppon us or of owr deputyez as thai dyd the last tyme, whether we shall take eny further abstynence, or nott.

Also, we beseche your Grace, that we may know your pleasor whether thatt suche ordre as we have taken for Tyndall shall contynew or nay, which ordre is this—We have left Sir Rauf Fenwic, and on hundreth men with hym, att Tercett Hall. And att Chipchaice, a gentelman and fyftye men with hym; and att Heslesyd, on other gentelmen and fyfty men with hym, so thatt their remaneth styll in their garrysons att the Kynge's charge two hundreth men.

Sens the tyme thei war layd, the Tyndaill men nor the Scottes theiffs hath nott rydyn nor doyn no great harme, whatt thei will do if the garryson be discharged we know nott. And, except the contrary commandement com frome your Grace, we entend to discharge the garryson uppon Setterday, the xxvijth day of May.

And the Armystronges of Liddersdaill, and the theiffes of Ewysdaill, is joned with the Kynge's rebelles of Tyndaill, and is commyn untoe thaym, and kepeth all company to gedders which is thowght shall mak mony dispoilles of the Kynge's subjectes, assoyn as the garryson shalbe discharged. And thus we be enformed, as our Lord knoweth, who, preserve your Grace. Frome Segisfelde, the xvjth day of May, by your humble servandes.

W. BULMER.

WYLLM EURE.

[ADDRESSED.]

To my Lord Cardinall, his good Grace,

hast post hast.

On the last day of May he was attacked there by the Scots and Tynedale men. "400 Scots, with the rebelles of Tynedale, came to Tarsett Hall and Hesleyside, where the Kynge's garrisons lay, and there took 55 horses and prisoners, and kylled and brount. And on the 13th June, came 600 Scotsmen, with the rebelles of Tendale, and took forty men and forty horses, and brount and kylled divers men."

Eure and Fenwick upon this made a raid upon Tyndale, on the 7th of July, and the untoward result of this inroad is detailed in the following letter.

Sir William Eure to Wolsey, 8th July, 1525.

Pleas your Grace, I wentt unto Tendale, the vij. day of July, and Sir Rauffe, of Fenwyk, wentt uppe to syde of Tyen waters, and I of the tothers syde. And he desyryd me that I wolde latte hym have iiij^{xx} of my nayrcharys [mine archers]. And I putte my unckyll Hewystes [Eustace?] to hym, and iiij^{xx} hayrcharys, and John, of Hogyll [Ogle], and fyfte sperys. I bruntt thayr Chellis, and toke frome thayme all that was in the sayde Schellys, and thayr cattell, of that syde of the waters that I was of. And where Sir Rauffe, of Fenwyk, was, the thevys sett upon hym at astrate, and thayr hathe tayken my unckyll and ten of my servandes, and sclewe one. I sende unto the bysshoppryche of Duresme to my fryndys, that was nexte jonyng unto Hexham, to company me att the said jornay and thayr come to me iij^{c} of thayme. And, pleas your Grace, the gentyll men of the cuntre hadde lever have the favor of the thevys then to tayke any of thayme. I besyche your Grace that I may knawe your plesor howe I schall euse me in theys partys. I contenew the garryson men in waygis to I knawe your gracios plesor thayrin, and remayns here my selffe at Hexham. I schalbe gladde to euse me acordyng to your commandmentt, to the best of my pore, as long as I leyffe, as knaweth God, who preserve your Grace. Wrytten, at Hexham, the viij. day of July.

Your Servandes, att command,

WYLLM EURE.

[ADDRESSED.]

To my Lorde Cardinall's Grace,
This be delyvered.

We believe it was in the month of June, 1525, that Tarsett Castle was burnt and destroyed by the united forces of the Scottish side, joined by the men of Tynedale.

In 1528, William Charlton, of Shotlyngton, and Archibald Dodd, with two Scotsmen—Harry Noble and Roger Armestrong—rode a

foray into the Bishoprick of Durham. The two Englishmen were here acting in union with their hereditary foe, and the inroad upon the county of Durham can only be characterized as a thorough act of treachery. It confirms the saying of a writer of the day, that these Border thieves would be Englishmen when they will, and Scotsmen when it suited them best. In all probability Noble and Armestrong were "broken men" outlawed from Liddesdale for acts of violence, who had taken refuge among their foes. The party, nine in all, entered the county of Durham on Monday, January 21, 1528, and advancing to the neighbourhood of Woolsingham, seized the parson of Muggleswick, and bore him off a prisoner. On their return they broke into three houses at Penhamside or Penwoodside, and robbed and spoiled the "gear" therein. The country rose in pursuit. Edward Horsley, the bailiff of Hexham, led the fray. "The water of Tyne was that night one great flode, so that the sayd theves couth not passe the same at no fordes, but were driven of necessitie to a brygge within a lordship of myne called Aydon Brygge, which by my commaundment was barred, chayned, and lokked faste, so that the sayd theves couth not passe with their horses over the same, but were constrained to leave their horses behynde them, and flee away a foote. And upon the same a servaunte of myne, called Thomas Errington, ruler of my tenantes in those quarters, persewed after theyme with a sleueth hounde, to the which pursuitte of theyme, after the scrye in aid, came to theyme one William Charlton with dyverse other inhabitants of Tyndaill to helpe to put down those rebellious persons, which forwardness in oppressing mallifactors hath not been sene afore-tyme in Tyndaill men." (Northd. to Wolsey, 1528). William Charlton, of Shotlyngton, or Shitlington Hall, was slain in the pursuit by Thomas Errington. James or Harrye Noble shared the same fate, and Roger Armstrong and Archie Dodd were taken and executed. William Charlton's body was hung in chains at Hexham, James Noble's on Haydon Bridge, and the others were treated in the same way at Newcastle and Alnwick. The other five outlaws escaped. The old hall at Shitlington was standing till within the last few years. Six "Tyndaile theiffis" were hanged at Alnwick in April of this year. The severity of this chastisement seems to have produced tranquillity on the Borders for some years. In 1535, the Earl of

Northumberland met the "hedesmen" of the surnames of Tyndaill, at Hexham, and took bonds for their good behaviour, and that of their retainers. These bonds are still extant. In 1536, however, the restless spirit of the Borderers was again inciting to acts of violence. Sir William Eure writes to the Cardinal, on the 26th of July of that year, from Hexham—"The rebels of Tyndale make some 'besyness' in Tyndale wher ther dwellings was, and in no place els they melle or dois hurt; ther abydings is in a place called Lushburn Howles (Lewisburn), a marvellous stronge grounde of woodes and waters. They begyn to be weary of their troubles, and maks offers, ther lyves safed, to submytt them to the Kyng's pleasur. I thynk yf Sir Rauffe Fenwyke, havynge the Kyng's garryson in conducte at hys owne appointment, had done hys dewtye, the said rebelles at thys time had made large proffers of submission." Sir William Eure was probably no friend to Lord Dacre, for along with this letter he sends the testimony of Edward Charlton, of Tyndale, which goes to prove that Dacre was wont to give private warning to the Bells, to shift for themselves whenever he made an inroad on the Tyndale outlaws. This was just before Lord Dacre's trial; and, after the trial, it would seem from a letter of Norfolk to Cromwell that he had sounded Lord Dacre about his again taking charge of Tyndale, but it was so much against Dacre's mind that, as Norfolk says, "he had rather lose one fynger of every hand than to meddle therwith."

In 1535, Eure writes to Wolsey, on the 26th July, from Hexham —"I send you a bill of the saying of Edward Charlton. Edward, of Charlton, hearde Sande Corbell (Corbett?) say, as they rode to Tendall, that my Lord Dacre had ordered Sir Chris. Dacre to warn John Bell, of Bowesbank, and John Bell, of Clowes, Geyll Hob, and Peter Tweddell, and two of Stapletons, to shift, as they were complained of by the gentlemen of the bishoprick, especially with the Baron of Helton. Chr. Dacre gave warning to Bell's wife, that if they went to the rebelles of Tynedale, it should be the worse for them. Lang Jim Harmstraw said openly at Carlisle, when he was sitting at drink, that Sir Wm. Eure and Sir Ralph Fenwick should have other things to think of than lying in the garrison there. None should bear rule there except Lord Dacre. John, of Charlton, said openly that Sir Christopher Daker would give them warning, or be rayd of them."

We now come to the matter of the murder of Roger Fenwick, keeper of Tyndale, or, as he is elsewhere called, one of the bailiffs of Tyndale. It is difficult to arrive at the truth regarding this case; but in a letter dated 7 April, Newcastle, 1537, John of Charleton, Rynny Charlton, and John Dodde, are named as the murderers of Roger a Fenwick, late keeper of Tyndaill, "and are recepted, ayded, and assisted now within the realmes of Scotland, but most of all by the Abbat of Jedworth." The Abbot of Jedworth, according to the Iter of Wark, held, in 1279, extensive possessions in north Tynedale, and especially at Ealingham, one of the holdings of the Charltons. Edward and Cuthbert de Charlton seem also to have been mixed up in this transaction, and above all, John Heron, son of John Heron, of Chipchase. The accusation against John Heron seems to have rested on the testimony of a single individual, Gerrard or Jerrye Charlton of the Hawe-hill, otherwise called Jerrye Topping, who was subsequently taken by Sir Raynold Carnaby, and thrown into Warkworth Castle. He seems to have given private information against John Heron to Norfolk, and the latter made ready to ride upon Tyndale if the King of Scots would do the same upon Liddesdale. Also that "he would do hys best to put order for Tyndale with usyng all the policies I can t'apprehend Edwarde and Cutberte of Charleton and John Heron's sonne, which John I require your good lordshippe may be secretly conveyed hither, and so delyvered to th'officers of my house to be by them conveyed to me to Newcastle, to be ordered according to justice. I wolde he sholde be hear on the 20th daie of Sept. and conveyed with a hode on hys hedde, and so secretly kept by the waye that no man sholde knowe him unto hys delyveraunce; which wolde be also in the nyght, bycause I have many pledges of Tyndale and Ryddesdale here. For and it were knowen he were here, I shold neyther take hys sonne nor others that I would have. And if it be not known in the 'flete' whither he should go, but conveyed in the nyght, the better." John Heron hereupon fled into Scotland, and was present at the meeting of Lord Wharton and Lord Maxwell at the Baittinge Buske on the 6th of Nov. 1538, when Wharton being apprised of his presence, laid an ambush to take him prisoner, but was dissuaded from his purpose by Lord Maxwell, who feared that such an act would be an occassion of strife. After all, John Heron was probably guiltless of the blood of

Roger Fenwick. The matter engaged the attention of the Privy Council long after this date. In 1542, the Council reports that the accusation against John Heron rests on only one person, Jerrye Charlton, who is known to be a thief and a common malefactor, and whose father had been punished by the Carnabys for his offences. "We consider with it the malice that is betwene the same Carnabys and John Heron, with the favour that is between the Carnabys and Wharton, and that it may be that Charlton being brother to one of your rebels and outlaws for the death of Roger Fenwick, knowing this displeasure to be betwen the Carnabys, Wharton, and John Heron, hath throwen out this bone as it were to please the Warden, and thereby at length to labour the restitution of his brother the outlawe." (5 State Papers, 202.)

The Robsons were, likewise, at feud with the Grahams, or Græmes, in the Netherby district. There is a North Tynedale tradition, that the Robsons once made a foray into Liddesdale, to harry the Grahams, and drove off a flock of their sheep down into North Tyne. Unfortunately, the sheep proved to be scabbed, and communicated the disease to the other sheep of the Robsons. Upon this, the latter made a second raid into Liddesdale, and took seven of the most substantial of the Græmes they could lay hands upon, and hanged them forthwith, with the warning, that "the neist tyme gentleman cam to tak their schepe, they war no to be scabbit!"

John Heron was actively concerned in the pilgrimage of grace, or rising in the north in favour of the old religion, in the autumn of 1536; and a most curious document has recently been found, regarding his conduct towards Carnaby on this occassion. It is printed in the first volume of the "Priory of Hexham," recently published by the Surtees Society. Heron was an ardent follower of Sir Thomas Percy, the leader of one of the armies in the pilgrimage of grace. The Percies hated Sir Raynold Carnaby, because it was thought to be by his influence that the Percy estates were diverted from Sir Thomas Percy, the next heir in proper descent. Sir Ingram Percy besieged the house of Adderstone, near Bambrough, in the belief that Sir Raynold Carnaby was in it, and he swore to Thomas Foster then, that "by Goddes hart" he would be revenged of Sir Raynald Carnaby. And when Thomas Forster desyred to knowe what offence the said Sir

Raynold had done unto him, and wherein he had offended hym, he saide, "Sir Raynold Carnaby hath beyn the distruction of all our blode, for be his meanes, the king shal be my lordes heyr."

It is well known, that the Canons of Hexham resisted, by force of arms, the Commissioners who came to take possession of their monastery. These commissioners were Lyonell Gray, Robert Collingwood, William Grene, and James Rockeby. On arriving at Hexham, they found the gates of the monastery closed, and the battlements lined with armed men. Among them was a canon, the master of Ovingham, a cell of the Hexham house, and he stood on the walls in full armour, with a bowe bent with arrowes, and to the summons of the Commissioners, the stout churchman answered,—"We be twenty brethren in this house, and we shall die all, or that you shall have this house." The Commissioners were foiled in their errand, and for a brief space the Monastery of Hexham was saved. John Heron was most anxious to raise the men of Tynedale and Redesdale for the Pilgrimage of Grace, and by the paper recently printed by the Surtees Society, it is evident that he wished to compromise the Carnabys in the same rising—for rebellion we certainly do not call it, any more then we should speak of the rising, of 1745, by such a name.

John Heron accordingly called on William Carnaby, at Halton Castle, near Corbridge, on Sunday, the 15th of October, 1536. The canons of Hexham had held their monastery, by force of arms, from the 28th of September to the 15th of October, and Heron advised Carnaby to remain quiet (knowing him to be of the King's party), and he would do his best to bring about an accommodation. Upon this, Carnaby—the father of Sir Raynold Carnaby—opened his heart to Heron, who, directly after, rode back to Hexham, apparently to promote this favourable issue. He, however, on his arrival did nothing of the kind, but prevailed on the monks to grant certain fees, under the seal of their convent, to certain men of Tynedale, such as he should appoint, to about forty shillings yearly; and said, that he doubted not but by the help of his son-in-law, Cuthbert Charlton—who had married his daughter—and of one Edward Charlton, his uncle, with such other friends as they would make, but all the whole country of Tynedale would live and die in the quarrel.

The canons agreed, but did not then seal the documents, because they desired John Heron to take a message to William Carnaby, before they should join themselves with thieves, which they would be loth to do if they might otherwise save their lives. The message was to desire William Carnaby to prevail with his son, Sir Raynold, who had brought down the King's letters, that he would intercede for their lives with the King, on condition of their giving up the abbey. Heron returned to Halton, but gave none of this message to Carnaby, while he sent word secretly to the Tynedale men to attend and meet their keeper, Roger Fenwick, at Chollerford, upon forfeit of a noble for each man that was absent. The next morning, he returned to Hexham, and told the canons, that the only answer he had got was that Sir Raynold Carnaby was determined to have the heads of four of the canons, and four of the men of Hexhamshire, to send up to the King, and other favour they would not get. "Whiche when they hard, said, better it was to defend theyre lyves as long as they myght, than wilfully to kill theyme selfes, and so prepared theyme selfes and Tyndal men to make them as strong as they coulde." Heron had thus gained a day for raising the men of Tynedale, having sent word to them overnight. He then came back to Carnaby's house, at Halton, to dinner, and sate down quietly, saying, "It is a good sight to see a man eat when he is hungry," and so passed the time till dinner was half done. And, as he was at dinner, one Archie Robson, of Tynedale, came to one John Robson, his cousin, and told him all how Tynedale men were gathered, and by what warning. John Heron then called Carnaby into another chamber, and told him that the canons of Hexham were prepared for the worst, and that they would be at his house straight away, and that the Tynedale men were partakers with them. Carnaby was evidently now in a terrible fright, and said his friend John Heron had given him very short warning, to know of such a purpose, and not to declare it till he had half dined! Heron advised him to fly immediately to his own Tower of Chipchase, for, if he remained at Halton, all the goods in the world would not save his life. His design seems to have been to compromise Carnaby, and to frighten him out of Halton, so that he might lay hands on Sir Raynold Carnaby's goods and plate, which he knew were in the house. So poor William Carnaby took horse, and rode off with John Heron

towards Chipchase. In the meantime, the men of Hexhamshire, who had risen in defence of the canons, and the Tynedale men, who had joined them after the preceding night's warning, were at St. John Lee, close to Hexham. A servant of Sir Raynold Carnaby's was riding past St. John Lee, and fell in with the Tynedale men, and guessing their intention, he spoke them fair, got away, and dashed off at full speed towards Halton, to warn the inmates and to assist at the defence of the tower, where his master's money and plate were. By a chance, he fell in with Heron and William Carnaby on their way to Chipchase, no doubt somewhere on Stagshaw-bank. Signing to William Carnaby to come near him, he whispered in his ear—"That traitor thief that rideth with you hath betrayed you, and it will cost you your life yet." He then advised him to speak fair to Heron, and to beg him to keep in the rear, to turn back those of his own friends who might pursue Carnaby, and that the said servant would guide him to Chipchase. Heron fell into the snare, he turned back, and Carnaby, putting spurs to his horse, dashed off towards Langley Castle, where he arrived in safety. John Heron then returned to Halton, and demanded of Carnaby's wife if her son, Sir Raynold, had any money. She answered yes, and delivered to him the casket, with such money as Sir Raynold had. And when he had got the casket into his hands, one Arthur Errington, kinsman of Sir Raynold Carnaby's took it from him by force, and, together with seven Tynedale men, who had promised to take his part, rode away as fast as their horses would bear them. And John Heron seeing that his purpose was void, that the casket was out of his hands, made after them with all the speed he might, and put a handkerchief as a pennon upon his spear point, and followed after the casket, all to the intent that the rest of them that was broken in the foray and were seizing the goods, should have recovered the casket for him. He, however, could not overtake Errington, and that night rode home to Chipchase.

Another letter has just come to light, regarding Heron's relatives, Edward and Cuthbert Charlton. It seems that the King had granted, by letters patent, certain annuities to these two Tynedale leaders, whereupon the Council for the Marches writes to his Majesty that these two men were the chief stirrers up of the country, to its great wasting and decay, and that the granting of annuities to them would

only encourage the others to further misdeeds. They aver that these two were unwilling to take oath to observe the peace before the keepers of Tynedale, and that they had sworn to support the cause of the canons of Hexham against the King, and were retained for that purpose by a yearly fee of twenty nobles a-piece, as the Council was credibly informed by Roger Fenwick, the keeper of Tynedale. The Council thereupon demand that the Charltons should be arrested, and punished according to their demerits, and that a garrison of three hundred soldiers should be laid in Tynedale. Two months after this, Roger Fenwick was murdered, and John Heron and the Charltons were suspected of the homicide. A letter of the Tynedale men is preserved, and has just been printed by the Surtees Society. It is signed by five of the Charltons, four of the Robsons, two of the Dodds, and one of the Milburns. Among these is John Robson, of the Falstone; Charlton, of the Bower; and Rynion Charlton, who, in 1537, was charged with the murder of Roger Fenwick. In June, 1538, Edward and Cuthbert Charlton came both in to Sir Reginald Carnaby, "and under assurans, and they spak veray reasonably, and said they wold be glad to mend with the forst of their countrey, and what way were taken with the rest they wold not fale to followe the same. I perceyve by Edward Charlton, and Cuthbert, there is somewhat that stykkes in their stomakkes, whatsoever they say, for they are always in a dreddure, and fere for ther lyves." Carnaby then goes on to say, that Edward Charlton offers his son as a pledge, and that he will send him to me at Hexham, "for there is no mo of his name soffyshent that woll pledge for him, but aether himself or his son, or one Henry Charlton, his son in law; for there is dyvers of the Charltons that was in his band that dare not nowe pledge for hym. He wold be glad to lay in one of his tenantes, and that me thynk is not mete."

Sir Raynold Carnaby, who is here mentioned, was the second son of William Carnaby, Esq., of Halton, and was married to Dorothy, sister of Sir John Forster, warden of the Middle Marches. He appears, with Widdrington, to have been appointed deputy keeper of Tynedale, but neither appointment seems to have been much to the satisfaction of the Earl of Norfolk. Writing, in 1537, to Cromwell, he says of his two deputy keepers—"All the contres under my

commission be as well ordred as I would wish, save only Tyndale and Ryddesdale, wich be under the governaunce of Wedrington and Carnaby, and they so far oute of frame that perforce I must ride those parttes. Wedrington wolde fayn doe well, but surely it is not in hym. Carnaby is so fered of his person that he dothe nothing but kepe the house. Men doe moch doubte of hys hardiness, having yet showed no parte of manhode sithe his first coming hither. I wolde they were bothe in Paradise." (5 State Papers, 104.)

Carnaby had, it seems, taken pledge of the Tynedale men, and had forwarded these pledges to York, to exchange them for others previously there. Tunstall says—"Here lyeth for Tyndall at this time two of the most actyve men of all Tynedale; one ys called John Robson of the Falsestayn, who promised my Lorde of Norfolke, as I understand, that he wolde doe much against the rebelles, th'odir ys Gibbe of Charleton, who made lyke promise as I hear say. But nowe, when tyme is to do it, they lye here as plegges (pledges) sent hyther by Sir Raynold Carnaby's letters to change and lowse th'oder for a seson, as hath been alwaie accustomeyd. I founde a faute with the bringer of them, servaunte to Maister Carnaby, that his maister sent these two who of all other been most mete to have been at home to resiste the rebelles, who answered me that yf those, and other mo of the hedes of them, were out of the country yt sholde be better rewlyed; by which aunser it semyed to me that hys maister trusted not these men." (Tunstall to Cromwell, 5 State Papers, 122.) Carnaby promised to do his best against the outlaws of Tynedale after the full of the moon, when it was thought they would be busy, and we presume it was in executing this promise that he was surprised and captured by the Tyndale men. We have no details of when or where he was taken; but Eure, writing in July, 1538, to King Henry VIII., speaks of the "wilful attemptate of the inhabitaunts of Tyndale, and the takyn of ther keper, Sir Raynold Carnaby." The whole letter is devoted to this important matter, no doubt a most serious offence in the eyes of the King. "We have travailed," says Eure, "by all our dexterities with the Tindales, for the delyverance of the sayd Sir Raynold and others taken with hym. Albeit they, wanting grace and obstenatly persisting in the mayntenaunce of their evill dedes, have resolutely aunswered that they will

not departe with the sayd Sir Raynold nor any of the other taken at that tyme for any persuasins or fere of danger that may followe. And unless they all have their pardonnes, as welle theye that slewe Roger Fenwick as those that attempted to take Sir Raynold Carnabye, they wyll in no wyse restore the sayd Sir Raynold nor any taken in hys companye, and that they wyll not tryste nor meate with any man in Northumberland to that they see William Carnaby and Lewis Ogle. Over this, one Jerard Charlton, called Topping, presumptuously sayd that he had given oon aunswer at Harbittell which he thought might serve us, and it should serve us, which aunswer was as is above declared." Eure further declares that he and his friends have used every means to obtain the release of Sir Raynold Carnaby, both by the offer of large sums of money to his keepers and to others who might influence the parties detaining him. Sir Raynold Carnaby, however, does not seem to have been long a prisoner; for soon after we learn that his deliverance was effected, and that he had the satisfaction of capturing, and conveying to Warkworth, Jerard Charlton, who had given to Eure the insolent answer above recorded. Nearly about the same time, however, about thirty of his retainers were taken by the Armstrongs at the Busy Gap, on the Roman Wall, and were carried off into Liddesdale. William Ratcliffe, who apparently had married Carnaby's widowed mother, writes about this mishap as follows:—"To my son, Sir Renald Carnaby, Knt., these delivered. You shall percieve that on St. James' Even, the 24th of July, came Liddesdale men to the Barony of Langley, to the number of six score, and laid them at the 'Busie Yappe,' and sent forth 7 men and seized 6 oxen. At 6 o'clock in the morning, the scrye rose through the country, and them that was next went forward in all haste. Richard Carnabye and Gilbert was in Hayden Brygge the same time, and tooke with them all that was ready, and that was upon a 26 men, and because there was so few men that seized the cattle they tarried not of the Constable, but thought to have rescued or he had convoyed, and made speed forwarde that they mought, and rescued the cattall, and chased the drivers to the bushments (ambushes), and or our men wist the Scots brake upon them, and took them all, both horse and man, saving two persons; so the Scots rode in all haste with their prisoners. Had they tarried half-an-hour longer, the

Constable, with others, was coming with all speed they mought, and would have been a party to the Scots, the which, if you and them Scots had met, would, I trust, have been spoken to London, but the Scots had better hap than so, and that I repent. The Scots have killed a proper man at the same time of the Barony of Langley, one Alexander Peerson. Son : if there be no remedy for Liddisdale, the country is in a schreved state, and true men that is oppressed for fear of their lyves, and lossing of their goods, say plainly they will leave the countrye." With a view to put down these disorders, Eure, Widdrington, Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe, and Robert Collingwood drew up most stringent rules for the suppression of ill doings in Tynedale. These articles are printed at full length in 5 State Papers, 133, and recommend that all the inhabitants of Tyndale shall be removed to the inner parts of the realm, except those who took part in the murder of Roger Fenwick or the seizure of Sir Raynold Carnaby, and that all who remain in Tynedale after a certain date from the issuing of this order shall be deemed rebels and outlaws to the King. Inroads were to be simultaneously then made by the wardens of the different marches upon the rebels, and no person was to relieve them or sell them anything in the market towns. Strong garrisons were to be left in various places in Tyndale, as in Chipchase, Swinburne, Gunnerton, Simonburn, and Haughton.

In 1542 William Charlton, of Hesleyside, is reported by Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Ralph Ellerker as possessing the only tower in the country of Tyndale.* The limits of Tyndale did not therefore come below the Nook on the south side, and the confluence of the Reed and North Tyne on the north side, of the latter river. William Charlton was in 1552 appointed a commissioner for the enclosure of the Middle Marches, and in 1554 he executed the deed of agreement with William Charlton of Lee-hall, of which we are enabled to produce a copy. We do not know in what degree of relationship William Charlton of Lee-hall stood to Charlton of Hesleyside, but in all probability they were cousins, and were in dispute, not only about the boundaries between the Lee-hall property and that of Hesleyside, but also about the manor

* The Tower of Hesleyside, which stood at the west end of the present mansion, was pulled down at the end of the last century, during the minority of the late owner of Hesleyside. It closely resembled the towers at Cockle Park and Halton.

and house of Healeyside itself. This dispute was settled by arbitration on the 27th of February, 1553, the arbitrators being George Fenwick of Harbottle and Brinkburn, a commissioner for the enclosure of the Middle Marches, in 1552; John Shaftoe, of Bavyngton; John Hall, of Otterburn, another of the commissioners in 1552, keeper of Redesdale in 1 Eliz., having fifty light horsemen of his name, and named in 1586 as one who could give information about the Borders; Thomas Featherstonhaugh, a gentlemen of the Middle Marches in 1550; Percival Shaftoe, of Ingoe; and Thomas Hall, of Munkridge. Their award, setting out boundaries which still exist, is now exhibited, and is as follows :—

Thys indenture mayd at the Leehall within Tyndall, the xxvii. day of the monethe of February, and in the viith year and reyaghn of our Soverayn Lord Edward the Syxt, by the Grace of God Kyng of England, France, and Ireland, defendor of the faith, and in earthe of the Churche of England and alsoo of Ireland the supreme head immediately under God, Betwixt Wyll'm Charlton of Hesleysyd, within the liberties of Tyndall, gent., of the on party, and Wyll'm Charlton of the Leehall within the said liberties, gent., upon the other party, Witnesz that wher thear was a travers sewt and controversye betwixt the parties aforsayd for and concernynge the howsse and manor of Heslesyd, the howse of the Leehall, with all the purtenances to them belongyng or in any maner of wyse appurtenyng, either party beying bound unto other by obligacion in the somme of cc*li.* as by the same dothe mor planlye appear, for to abyd the order, award, arbitrement, and end of Georg Fenyk of Brenkburn, gent., John Shafto of Bavyngton, esquyer, John Hall of Otterborn, the yonger, gent., Thomas Fatherstonhaughe, of Haydenbrig, gent., Percevell Shafto of Inngho, gent., and Thomas Hall of the Munkkarage, gent., arbiters, indyfferently elected and chosen as well by the on party as the other, who hath ordred, judged, demyd, and awarded that Wyll'm Charlton of the Leehall shall have and enjoye to hym, his ares, executors, and assyghnees, for ever mor, without any encombrawnc, chaleng, trowble, vexaycion, or perturbacyon of the sayd Wyll'am Charlton of Heslesyd, hys ares, or assyghners, or of any in hys name or hys ares name, all the plac and manor of the Leehall, with all maner of grownde erable and unerable, medos, woodes, pastures, commones, hedgys, dyches, with all other easmentes, comodites, and purtenancys, beying lyeing and conteynyng within the limites and bowndes folowyng, that ys to say, bownying and begynning at a gray stone in a clowghe syd under a plac called the Crowkhyl, and so forth north-est unto the dych of the Rydynghy'll clos, and so up northe as the dyche thereof is casten, and then turnyng at a grey ston lying in the Rydynghyll clos dyche, and so forth streght north west unto the end of Tawnton hyl dyche, then northe unto the end of the sayd dyche, and from the dyche northward streght ower unto the ryver of north Tyne, the sayd W'm Charlton of the Leehall, hys ares and assyghners doying therfor all maner of dewties and services unto the cheff lord dew and accustomed. And further, that the sayd W'm. of the Leehall shall give and grant unto the sayd W'm Charlton of Heslesyd, and his ares, all his ryght, title, clame, and chaleng of the howse and manor of Heslesyd and of all the inheritanc that is or hath been therto belongyng. And also all his tenant ryght as well of the Kyng's landes of the Lemallyng, that is to say, of the Crowkhyll, the Anthonhyll, the Hyghe clos, the Bridgford, as of other, with all other that he hath or had ever any interest, title, clame, or chaleng unto withoute any trowble, chaleng, vexacyon, or perturbacyon therof, to be had or mayd in any wyse (except befor excepted) from the sayd Wm. Charlton of the Leehall, his ares and assghnz, unto the sayd Wyll'm. Charlton of Heslesyd, his ares and assighnez for evermor. And that the sayd W'm Charlton of the Leehall

shall delyver unto the sayd W'm Charlton of Heslesyd all maner of writinges, evydenc, and prescripcions that he hath belongyng or appertenyng unto the ineritanc of Heslesyd, or of any land or tenement, part or parcell therof, immediately at the sealyng of this presentes befor and in the presenc of the sayd arbiteres, and for tru performanc of the same to be truly observed and keped in every article and behalff as is befor mencyoned, eyther parti to other enterchaungeably hath sette their sealles with the sealles of the sayd arbiters the day and year abovesayd. Witnesz, Hob Hall of Raylees, Percivell Clennell, Clemet Hall of the Ralees, Heue Charlton of the Hallhyll, John Wylkyson of Hetheryngton, Rawff Charlton of the Leehall, Oswyn Charlton of Elyngham, John Charlton of the Blaklow, Edde Mylborne of the Dunsted, Anthon Mylborne of Roses bowr, Xpe Charlton of Newton.* [*Four seals broken away*]

[*In dorso.*] Also we awarde that Wyll'm Charlton of the Leehawl shall have fre passag at all tymes wyth all hys cattelles somer and wynter to pastur upon the Kyngs grownd, such lyk as other the Kynges tenants doth therr, and also fre lycenc to passe and repasse throwghe the Kynges grownd for getting of his eldyng, and this to belong to the Leehall. Also we awarde that Wyll'm Charlton off Heslesyd shall lett unto Wyll'm Charlton of the Leehall halffe the Leykhyl..... his farme payeng doyng hys-dewtie with firmers by yer v *s.*—WILLM. CHARLTON, of Heslsidd. GEORGE FENWICK JOHN SCHAFTOW. JOHN HALL. P'CIVELL SHAFTOO. JOHN HALL. [*sic* in both parts.]

By the privilege of passing through the King's grounds, the Lee-hall property became extended in a narrow slip up to Kingswood, and so continues to this day. William Charlton, of Lee-hall, died in 1561, and we produce the probate of his will, running as follows :—

JH'US In the name of God, Amen, the yeare of our Lord God 1561 I Wyll'm Charlton of the Leehall holl in mynde and memorye and seyke in my body. Fyrst I bequeathe may sawll to Almyghtye God my only maker and redeamer, my bodye to be buryed in the churche of Saynct Cuthbert in Bell'inham, with my mortuaire dew and accustomed to be paid. Item, I geve to Dorathye my wyf the halff of the myln and maynes dependynge or belongynge to the Leehall, with meadowes, mures, and pastors or any other thinges belonginge to the foresayd Leehall, and my sonne Wyll'm to content hym with the other half. I make my wyff and Wyll'm my sonne of this my last wyll and testament my full executores. Also I wyll that my mayster George Heron and John Hibson, with my brother Nicholas Crawhall, vicar of Hawttwysle, to be supervisors, and if they refusse ytt than I wyll that Uswen Charlton, and Wyll'm Charlton of Bellingham, and John Robson. Lyonell Mylborne to take in hand & to se that my wyff and my sonne take no wronge, but to maynteayn them in their right as far as they may. Wryten the last day of Aprill by theiss wytness & recordes—Ussen Charlton, John Robson, Lyonell Mylborne, Christofor Borne, Sande Ellot, Chuthbert Ellot, Leonard Stauper, with other mo, and Wyll'm Holede, sone to John Holde, and Wyll'm Bell, curat of Bellingham. [Memorandum of probate at Corbridge by the said executors, before Wyll'm Garnett, Commissary in Northumberland of James [Pilkington] Bishop of Durham, 17 June, 1561. *Seal*, pointed oval, the royal arms crowned.....STA..... CLESIASTICAS.]

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* In 1568 the heirs of Gabriel Hall had lands in four places in Redesdale, Randal Hall had land at Raylees.—Edward Charlton, of the Hawe-hill, a headsman of Tindale, gave bonds to Sir John Forster at Chipchase in 1559. (Sadler's State Papers.)—John Wylkinson of Hetherington was bailiff of Tindale in 1559.—John Charlton of the Blakelaw was a headsman and bond-giver in 1559.

In 1556, Roger Heron, brother to George Heron, of Chipchase, was taken prisoner by some of the Elliotts and Crosiers, of Liddesdale, while riding towards his brother's house in the dusk of the evening.

In 1559, Sir John Forster received the office of keeper of Tyndale from Marmaduke Slingsby. The latter had appointed a day for the headsmen of Tyndale to appear at Hexham, and to give bonds for good conduct, but this summons was disregarded. Sir John Forster seems to have had more influence. "When I demandyd to have such delyvered in to my handes as were nomynate in the sedult (schedule), that you sent me in your last letter, of the which nombre I have received in the preson of Hexham, IX persons presoners. Ande Jarrye Charleton of the Hawehill—he is delyvered home upon bande." (1 Sadler's State Papers, 613.) Sir John Forster summoned the "hedesmen" to meet him at Chipchase the next Sunday, and on that day the greater part, if not all, appeared, and gave bonds for keeping the peace, &c. We have fortunately, in Sadler's State Papers, a list of those summoned by Slingsby, and we may conclude that the same men, with others, obeyed Sir John Forster's summons to Chipchase. This list is curious, as it gives the names of many who appear in the documents before us. It is as follows :— "Charlton of Hesleyside; Jasper Charlton of Hawsose, [Hawkhope Hill]; John Charlton of Blacklawe, or his son; Edward Charlton of the Hall Hill; Hector Charlton of the Boure; William Charlton of Lee Hall; Edward Charlton of Lordner Burn, [Lanner Burn]; Wylliam Charlton of Bellingham; . . . . Charlton of Dunterley; Symont Robson of Langhaugh; Andrewe Robson of the Bellynge; Hobb Robson of the Fawstone [Falstone]; John Mylborne of Roses Bowere; Edward Mylborne of Dunterde; Mychell Dodde of the Yerehaugh; . . . . Dodde hys sonne; Jamy Dodde of Roughsyde; . . . . Hunter; . . . . Hunter; Christofer Hogge; Willie Hogge; Matthew Nysson. [*Addressed*] To my loving friends John Wylkynson and Wyllie Ianson, balyves of Tyndall, gyv theys and yourselfes that same daie."

On the same paper is a memorandum in the handwriting of Sir John Forster :—That Jone Hall of Otterburn, Launcelot Tysley of Gosforth, William Charlton of the Leyehall, John Hall of Braynes-haugh, William Charlton of the Bellingham, and Clement Hall of Burd-

cheppes (Birdhope), is joyntelie and severally bounde to the right hon'ble th'Earle of Northumberland and Francis Slyngsbye, keper of Tindall, in c. and xl^{li} for the personal appearance of Jarret Charlton of the Howehill at Newcastle the xvth daye of January next comynge. The bonde is taken to the Queen's use. His appearance is in Robert Young's house in the Newcastell." (p. 615.)

In 1565, August 5th, Rowland Forster writes from Wark to the Earl of Bedford, Governor of Berwick :—"The Laird of Hakupe (Hawkhope), whose name was Charltoun, and who dwelt in Tynedale, was slaine on Friday last in Jedwart Forest in stealinge. Ane tuik him on the heid and dang out all his harnes." (Original in Record Office). Jasper Charlton's daughter and heiress married George Gibson, of Stonecroft.

In spite of Sir John Foster's activity the Borders continued to be a scene of rapine andconfusion. George Heron, of Chipchase, writes in this year to Sir John Forster—"The Liddesdaille menne are disorderlie, and are aided by the menne of Tyndaill and Ryddesdaill. Lyddesdaill is myndit to mayk misorder and to do the evel that they can in these quarters. I knowe theye cannot doe it withoute the helpe of some, both of Tyndaill and Ryddisdaill, as they have had even now this last Fryday at night, when they dyd tak up Swethope. For one parte off them went away thorow Tendall with the prysoners, and another thorow Ryddesdail with the nowt. And theves off Tyndaill that wis goyng estellying [a stealing] into Scotland, found the Scotts, with the nowt lying in the shells [shielings] at Uttenshope, in Ryddesdaill att fyers, and had gotten meate bothe for horse and man at som of Ryddisdaill. And when the theves off Tyndaill perceved the Scotts were at rest, they stale the nowt, from the Scotts, and in the morning when the Scotts mest the nowt they dyd com into Reddisdayll again, to boro a dog to follo, and then theye got knowledge whyche of Tynedaill had the nowt." (p. 627.)

Towards the end of the same year, we find that several of the Tyndale men were in the goal at Hexham. How they escaped from thence the following letter shows.—"Nicholas Erington to Sir John Forster, Hexham, xviith daye of December, 1559. Plesyth yt youre mastershyppe to be advertysed that George Herone, of Chypchace, dyd sende Edward Charlton, Harrye Charleton of the Larnerburne, and

one John Charlton of Thornybourne in Tyndall the sayd George Herone sent theys said three prisoners into Hexham, to the Queene's Majestie's gavel [goal] there. This yt is chansyd that the xvth daye of this instaynt, the gaveler and all the reste of presoners, be what meanes I canne not tell, nor no other that can be knowen of sertentye, but that the saide three Charltons and Thos. Mylborne (alias Thome Headman), with xi Scotts pledges, that was comandyt to ward for surety of John Eryntoun is goyn the said nyght, and all the dorrys left opyn, savyn the outter doore, which is the newe house doyr that Mr. Slyngsbye buildit, whayr the gaveller laye nyghtlye for the safe guard of the sayd presoners, as I thoughte was most surest."

The gaoler of Hexham was perhaps a reclaimed outlaw himself, and the ties of flesh and blood proved too strong for him.

The calendars of State Papers of the early part of Elizabeth's reign, do not give us much information regarding this portion of the Borders. In 1586, however, a long and grievous list of outrages committed by the Elliotts and others, of Liddesdale, was forwarded to London. These complaints chiefly refer to raids into Redesdale, and injury done to the property of those of the surnames of Hall and Read. John Hall, of Otterburn, and Edward Charlton, of Hesleside, are named in this document among those who can give information "If they be sworne or strictly examined."

In 1593, a furious raid was made into Tyndale by the Liddesdale men, headed by William Elliott, of Lawreston, the Laird of Mangerton, and William Armstrong, of Kymonth (Kinmont Willie). There is a long correspondence on this subject in the Public Record Office, but, unfortunately, the details of the assault and inroad are nowhere given. Still, the foray must have been of a most serious character to produce so much angry correspondence. Sir Robert Bowes, then an old man, was at that time in Edinburgh, and he seems to have experienced the greatest difficulty in obtaining an interview with the King (afterwards James I. of England), to represent the grievance. The King excuses himself from seeing Sir Robert, on the plea that "he is muche grieved with payne in one of his teeth drawing, thereby greate swellinge in his face, and a troublesome lompe in his mouthe." We have obtained copies of the whole of this correspondence, but it is not of sufficient interest to warrant its insertion here.

Ten or eleven years later North Tyndale was again a scene of bloodshed and ruthless rapine at the hands of the Laird of Buccleuch, Sir Walter Scott. Buccleugh, as he is generally termed, seems to have made repeated inroads into North Tyne, and to have directed his attacks chiefly against the surname of Charlton, partly on the score of ancient grievances existing between them, and partly in consequence of recent and ample reprisals made by them in Scotland, Buccleugh was in Tyndale, in 1594, on a similar errand, but he then burned only one house against his will, though he "laid fyre to two to gitt entrance." (Original in Record Office). One great raid was made on the 17th, of April, 1597, when he burnt ten houses in Tyndale, and took the lives of thirty-five persons. (Raine, [p. 43] bill against Buccleuch). Two letters, are in print (Transactions of Border Club, pp. 14 and 16) which throw considerable light on these outrages. The first is from Sir John Carey, Marshall of Berwick-upon-Tweed to Lord Burghley, and dated Berwick, June 13, 1595, wherein he says:—"I did synce by my letter of the 29 of Maye certifye your honnor of Buckcleughe, howe he came into the Myddle Marches to a place called Grenehugh (Greenhaugh), a wyddowes house in Tyndalle, where he sought for certen of the Charletons; and not fynding them he burned the house and all the corne in it and all that was therein, and so went hys way; he had in his company, as it is reported, very nere three hundred men, and within eight days afterward he came in agayne to a place called the Bowte hill, and killed foure of the Charletons, very able and sufficient men and went his waye, threatning he would shortly have more of their lives."

In a second letter, dated Berwick, July 2, 1595, Carey refers again to this subject:—"In your honour's letter you write in a postscript that you would gladly understande the quarrell that Buccleughe had against the Charletons, and that the Sesforde had against the Stories, which would be too long and tedious to sett down at large; but for that your honour requyresyt, I will as briefly as I can sett it downe. First the quarell Bucclughe hath to the Chareltons is said to be this: Your honour knowes long synce you heard of a great rode that the Scottes, as Will Harkottes and his fellowes, made upon Tynedale and Ridsdale, wherein they took up the whole country, and did very neare beggar them for ever. Bucclughe and the rest of the Scottes having

made some bragges and crackes, as the country durst scarse take anything of their own, but the Charletons being the sufficientest and ablest men uppon the Borders, did not only take theire own goodes agayne, but also so hartned and perswaded theire neyghbors to take theires, and not to be afraide, which hath ever synce stuck in Bucclughe's stomach, and this is the quarell for taking theire own. Mary! he makes another quarell that long synce, in a warr tyme, the Tyndale men should goe into hys countrye, and there they tooke his grandfather and killed divers of his countrye, and that they tooke awaye hys grandfathers sworde, and would never lett him have yt synce: this, saith he, is the quarell."

The Tynedale outrages, by Buccleugh, were followed by a more peaceful time. James, of Scotland, succeeded to Elizabeth, the two kingdoms were united, and it was no longer the interest of the respective sovereigns to stir up one side of the Borders against the other.

In 1605 final articles were agreed upon between the English and Scottish Commissioners for the pacification and disarmament of the Borders. All who were noblemen or gentlemen and unsuspected of felony or of theft were allowed to retain their arms, but all the common people were ordered to put away all armour and weapons, as well offensive as defensive, as jacks, spears, lances, swords, daggers, steel-caps, hagbuts, pistols, plate, sleeves, and the rest, upon pain of imprisonment.

In May, 1607, Edward Charlton, of Hesleyside, was commissioned to select and raise one hundred men from the outlaws of Tynedale and Redesdale, for service in Ireland.

The Scots and English, however, had not as yet wholly learned to live in peace. In 1611 an inroad was made from the Scottish side, of which we have fortunately obtained the full particulars from hitherto unpublished documeuts in the Record Office. We do not however, know the cause of the deadly feud, but the subjoined documents show the truculent conduct of the Scottish reivers. Leaplish is high up the North Tyne, directly south of Mounces.

The Earl of Cumberland to Lord Salisbury, 28th May, 1611.

My verie honorable good Lord,—This xxviijth of Maie, at vij. at night, I receaved letters from Sir William Fenwicke, one of the

Deputie Commissioners for the middle shyers. The copies whereof I have herewith sent to your honorable Lordshipp, wherein is certyfied a cruell and disloyall outrage, nowe late comitted and executed by a companie of those bordering Scottes, men of the ill Clann or Surnames, upon an Englishman, some myles within England. I shall not neede wryte more of the informacõns that are yet come to me of this matter, in that I send to your Lordshipp the true copies thereof, as I have receaved them under Sir William Fenwicke his hands. And because they are Skottish men, dwellinge within Scotland, and came thence to effecte this wicked deed, I have writt to my Lord Chancelor of Scotland and his associates, to take some present course for the apprehending of the offenders, untill his Majestie shall give further order for the redresse hereof. Soe have I writt to Sir Will^m^ Fenwicke and others, the Commissioners of our syde, to certifye to my Lord Chancelor the true informacõns of the facte, and the names of the persons offendinge. This, I thought, for the present was fittinge. I shall now intreat your Lordshipp, as you shall thinke good to acquainte his Majestie herewith, as I may be advertysed from your Lordshipp what his Majestie's pleasure is, I shall further doe herein which I will not faile to execute to the uttermoste of my power, soe longe as I shall live. In the meane tyme, I shall take order with the Commissioners of our syde, to be verie watchfull and carefull for the apprehendinge of anie suspected, and knowe of those if they shalbe fownd to lurke on our bounders or liberties. I trust I shall not neede to trouble your Lordshipp further at this tyme. And soe, with my hartiest comendacõns to your good Lordshipp, I leave you as myself to Godes proteccõn. Londsbrough, this 28^th^ of Maie.

Your Lordshipp's verie lovinge and assured
Friend, ever to command,
FR. CUMBRELAND.

[ADDRESSED.]

To the Right Honorable,
my singuler good Lord,
The Earle of Salisburie,
Lord High Treasurer of England.

Sir William Fenwick to the Earl of Cumberland, 26th May, 1611.

Right Honorable and my verie good Lorde,

My humble dutie remembred. I am sorie I have cause to informe your Honor of the moste horrible and greevous outrage that ever hath beene donne in my tyme within these partes, either before his Majestie's entrance into this kingdome or since. Upon the 25th of this instant May, Roberte Ellett, of Readhugh, his brother William, with manie more of their name and friends all Scotchmen, Lancelote Armestrong, of Whithaugh (called the yonge Larde), Alexander Armestrong, of the Roane, his brother, with manie of their frendes being Scotchmen, in all, about the number of three score and tenne persons, fiftee of them upon horsebacke, and the rest footemen, all furnished either with long peeces, pistoletts, or launces, came to Lyonell Robson's howse, in Leapelish, six myles within English grownde, and there cut downe his dwelling howse with axes which they braught with them. And with their peeces killed one Lyonell Robson, of the Smaleburne, and a woman called Elizabeth Yearowe, of Stannisburne, and shott and hurt dyvers more, both men and women, with the shottes of their peeces. Whereof that your Honor may be better satisfyed, I have sent a list of the names of the parties slaine, those that are hurte, and such as were shott through the clothes, yet escaped; and lykewyse, the names of soe manie of the principall offendors, as in this shorte tyme I could get notice of. Nowe, your Honor is acquainted with the informacõn I have receaved, which, I thought fitt in my dutie, to make knowne to your Honor, being Lord Lieutennant and Lord Commissioner for the Middle Shyres, by whose meanes I must onely hope this greevous offence may receave exemplarie punishment, that the lyke may never hereafter be donne by anie of his Majestie's subjectes. Soe leaving this cause to your Honor's good consideracõn, I humbly take my leave. From Bellingham, in Tiviedale (Tyndale), this 26th of Maie, 1611.

Your Honor's humbly to be comanded,

WILLM. FENWICKE.

(Inclosure to Sir W. Fenwick's letter of 26th May, 1611.)

A List of the names of such as are slaine and hurt, according as they are seene and viewed.

Lyoll Robson, of the Small Burne, shott in at the harte with a single bullott, and slaine.

Elizabeth Yearowe, of Stannishburne, shott with twoe bullettes through both her thighes, the right thygh broken asunder with the shott, and slaine.

Walter Robson, of the olde syde, hathe his left arme broke asunder in twoe places with twoe bullettes.

Thomas Robson, of Yearowe Hall, shott with one quarter shott in the fillettes of his backe, an other quarter shott in his haunch, and another great bullott shott through his Breeches, and mist his skinne.

Mane Robson, wyfe to James Robson, called Blackehead, is shott with fyve haile shott in her breastes.

Elizabeth Robson, wyfe to Jeffray Robson, beinge great with chylde, is hurte verie sore in the head with the stroke of a peece.

Rinyon Robson, of the Bellinge, is shott with a bullett and an arrowe out of a long peece, and hurt in the handes.

Roberte Charleton, of Bought hill; Francis Robson, of Stannishburne; William Robson, of Yearowe Hall; Henrie Robson, of Well Haugh; Anthonie Robson, of Crosse Hills; Rinyon Robson of Fasteane; James Charleton, of the Bough Hill; and John Dod, of the Ryding, are all shott with bullettes through their clothes, but not hurte.

WILLIAM FENWICKE.

A List of the names of the Offendors, being all Scottishmen.

Roberte Ellott, of the Red Hugh.

William Ellott, brother of the said Roberte.

Roberte Ellott, of Copshawe, and his brother Frauncis.

Roberte Ellott, of Dunnlebaire, and his twoe brothers, Gawen and William.

William Elliott, called Rinyons Willee.

Roberte Ellott, called Martin's Hob, of Pricking haugh.

Christofer Ellott, sonne to Roberte, of Pricking haugh.
Lancelot Armestronge, of Whithaugh, called the yonge larde.
Alexander Armestronge, of the Roane, brother to the said Lancellot Armestronge.
Francis Armestronge, of Whithaugh, and his sonne Lancellot Armestronge.
Roberte Forster, called the yonge Larde of Fowle Shieldes.
William Ellott, of Pricking Haugh.
John Shiele, Arch. Roger, John Ellott (called blacke John), and Roberte Ellott, of the Parke, men to Roberte Ellott, of the Red Hugh.
Arch. Ellott, of Burnemouth, man to William Ellott, brother to the said Roberte Ellott, of Red Hugh, with dyvers others yet unknown, to the number of lxx. in all.

WILLIAM FENWICKE.

It has been before stated that the Robsons were at feud with the Elliotts and Armstrongs, perhaps it was revenge, taken on hereditary grounds of complaint alone. We find no more documents regarding this outrage, nor do we know that any tradition of the event has come down to our time. In 1628, Jane Robson, wife of Matthew Robson, of Leaplish, was indicted at the Newcastle Assizes for the feloniously slaying of Mabell Robson, wife of George Robson, of Leaplish, his brother-in-lawe, by sorcery or witchcraft; Jane Robson escaped, however, with her life.

In 1618, the following list of noted thieves infesting South Tyne and the borders was forwarded to the Government:—

Certeyne persons inhabiting and resorting uppon and to the water of Tine, in Tindall, bordering and adjoyning uppon Cumberland, most of them reputed great theeves, Owtputters, or Receitors, being very infestious to their Neighbours, whereof the Comissioners in Northumberland cannot take so perfect notice as they that dailie taste and feele the smart of their badd demeanor.

Richard Musgrave, of Barrowe.
John Musgrave, his brother.
Robert Musgrave, of the Holehouse.
William Musgrave, his brother.
} Knowne theeves.

Raph Smith, a vagrant person, and lyveth by filching and picking, under pretext of fouling with a setting dogg.

Thomas Parker was banished into Ireland, and is retorned, wee knowe not by what warrant.

Launcellott Parker, his brother, much suspected emong his Neighbours.

Christopher Bell, of the Peth, a comon horse coper, and thought to be a great Conveyor of stolen horses.

Nicoll Havelock, in the parish of Hawtwisell, a daylie Receitor of Theeves and stolen horses.

Hugh Nixon, of the Howsteedes, nere the wall, reputed generally to be a theefe, and a Comon Receitor of theeves and stolen goodes.

James Foster, of the Wall, who, for his infinite nomber of Fellonies, could not have escaped the hand of Justice so often as he hath done, if hee had not found extraordinary favor of some in good reputacõn in the Country.

William Walleis, late of Bellister, sence of Crackenthorp, in Westmoreland, being accused of stealing of Cattell, in August last, fledd for the same, and being sence apprehended and comitted to Kendall Gaole, in Westmoreland, by Sir John Dalston, was, without his consent, presently bailed by Mr. Richard Rigg, another Justice in that Countrie, sence the Proclamacõn divulged to the contrary. And if this first offence of contempt in this nature escape unpunished, it wilbe a precedent to others to adventure the like, wherby his Majeste's Commanndementes wilbe undutifully contemned, and this poore Countrey much prejudiced.

N.B.—The document from which the above is an Extract (as desired in your letter), is headed, "A Breife Survay and Certificate of disordered persons in the Countie aforesaid," &c. (Cumbria), tabulated thus :—

The dwelling place.	The Offendor's name and his Offence.	The proof of the Offence.

In 1619, Lord Walden writes, that he cannot persuade honest people to live in Tynedale, for that the people there already dwelling

are lawless, and hold their land independent of all treason and felony. The Border habits of misrule could not be changed in a year or two. (*Vide* "Archeologia Æliana," p. 158, vol. I.)

In 1626, the two sons of Ellen Charleton, of the Bower, in Chirdon Burn, were arraigned at the Newcastle Assizes for horse stealing. They seem, from the mother's petition, to have been tried separately on some charges, and together upon another. The Newcastle Calendar, of that year, has been fortunately preserved and printed in the "Archeologia Æliana," vol. I., p. 158, 4to. series.

"No. 15.—John Charleton, of the Bower, for suspecion of the felonious stealing of three kine, the goodes of Thomas Fenwick, of Lesbury. And for suspecion of divers other felonyes, and being offered to be apprehended for the sayd felonyes fledd. And also for suspecion of the stealeing of one graye gelding, upon which he rode at his apprehension.

Committed by Sir Francis Brandling, and Cuthberte Hearone and Ralph Carnaby, Esqs., 14th March, 1628.

"The said John, a fugitive and notorious theife, for the felonious stealeing of one black mare and thirtene shepe, forth of the growndes of Little Swinburne, the goodes of Thomas Midleton, of Belsoe, Esqr.

"The said John, for suspecion of divers felonyes, and charged with the felonious stealeing of two oxen, the goodes of Nicholas Errington, of Keepwick, and three young beastes, the goodes of Richard Wilson, of Houghton, and also the felonious stealeing of one horse, the goodes of Gawen Bell, of Errington."

No. 30.—"Ellen Charleton, of the Bower, charged with the felonious stealeinge of a black mare and twenty-three (?) sheepe, the goodes of Thomas Midleton, Esqr."

Committed by Thomas Midleton, 13 July, 1629.

In 1629, the two sons of Ellen Charlton, of the Bower (she was probably a widow), were in trouble, for the theft of two mares and three cows, and were condemned to die. The poor mother prays earnestly for their pardon, and, soon after, we find from another paper in the Record Office, that they were reprieved and pardoned. But the pardon, though made out, was not forwarded, and the anxious mother petitions again, and begs it may be speedily sent, for that her sons' lives are in great danger, since the pardon had not arrived.

though it had been announced to her. Alas! her fears proved too true; her sons were executed, and, a year afterwards, the widow again petitions for pardon for herself (we suppose as particeps criminis) and for restitution of her goods.—It is a sad story. There was evidently a "circumlocution office" then, as now, in London.*

Petition of Ellen Charlton to the King, 24th Sept., 1630.

To the King's most excellent Ma^tie. The humble peticõn of Ellen Charlton, of Bower, in the County of Northumberland, widdowe. Humbly sheweth, That, by the violence of heavy prosecutors, your peticõner hath two sonnes (viz.), John Charleton and Thomas Charleton, whoe att severall assizes, holden att Newcastle, the one aboute 4 yeares since, another three yeares sithence, and the last above a yeare since, are cast for pretended theft of two Mares and three Cowes, and your peticiõner though absent, not yet tryed, is in the dainger of question for an accessary.

The premisses considered, and for that the Judges of that Circuict did soe pitty the cause as they tooke your Suppliante's Sonnes into reprive, Your Pet^r now humbly beseecheth Yo^r Majesty, that since the question of the factes was within the compasse of Your Majeste's gratious Perdon for the birth of the blessed Prince, your Pet^r and her said Sonnes humbly intreate Your Majesty to be soe gratiously pleased to give order they may be soe happy as to enjoy that your gratious Pardon.

And as in duty bound they will ever pray for Your Majeste's long and prosperous Raigne.

At the Court att Hampton Court, 24 September, 1630.

It is his Majeste's pleasure to be certified by the Judges of Assize, before whom the parties were tryed, how the case standeth with the peticõner and her sonnes, and whether or not they conceave them capable of the grace and favour desired. And then his Majestie will further shew his Royall pleasure.

THO: AYLESBURY.

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* We give here the whole documents at length, as they have never before been printed.

At Hampton Courte, 28° *Octobris*, 1630.

Your Majesty having seene the Certificatt of Mr. Justice Davenporte, hereunto annexed, whereby it appeareth that the offences committed by the peticõner and her two sonnes, John Charleton and Thomas Charleton, were done before the birthe of the Prince his highness, and not expressly excepted out of his Majestye's intended pardonne, is nowe graciously pleased to pardon the said Ellen Charleton, and her said two sonnes, the offences mencõned in this Peticõn and Certificatt. The peticõner and her two sonnes putting in sufficiente security for their good behaviours hereafter. And his Majestye's Attorney Generall is to prepaire a pardon accordingly readdy for his Majestye's Royall Signature.

SYDNEY MOUNTAGU.

[INDORSED.]
Ellen Charlton—a pardon,
for stealing a Mare.

According to the significacõn of his Majestie's gracious pleasure, under the peticõn of Ellen Charleton, widdowe, hereunto annexed, I doe hereby, in all humblenes, certifie unto His Highnes, That att the last Assizes, holden att Newcastle, for the Countie of Northumberland, the eight and twentieth daie of July now last past, John Charleton and Thomas Charleton, in the peticõn mencõned, had their tryalls before me (then sitting there upon the Gaole), for the severall felonyes following, viz^{t} : John Charleton and Thomas Charleton, upon one Indictment of them both for the stealing of a Mare, on the eight and twentieth daie of March, in the third yeare of his Majestie's Raigne. And John Charleton was soly tryed upon two other Indictments for the stealing of certaine kine (being, to my remembrance three in the whole), on the fourth daie of November, in the fourth yeare of his Highnes Raigne. And Thomas Charleton was alsoe tryed alone upon one other Indictment, for the stealing of one other Mare, upon the foure and twentieth daie of December, in the third yeare of his Highnes Raigne. And, thereto, the same John Charleton and Thomas Charleton, upon full evidence, in my opinion, were justly and duly, upon those tryalls, found guiltie according to

the same Indictmentes. Nor did I perceive any violent or undue prosecucõn against them or either of them in any wise, for which causes, and for that in respect of those convictions for the stealing of the Mares, which offences for stealing of horses or mares are too usuall in those partes, and very much there compleyned of. They, the said John Charleton and Thomas Charleton, were utterly excluded by lawe from any benefitt of clergy. I proceeded to sentence of Death against them, according to the lawe. And, nevertheles, in respect the same offences, for which they were soe convicted and attainted, were done before the happie birth daie of the Prince (whom Almightie God ever blesse), and were not in there severall qualities expresly excepted out of such his Majestie's gratious pardon, as was granted att or upon his Highnes coronacõn. Therefore, in all due obedience to his Highnes good pleasure, in such behalfe signified to be observed in and through the whole Circuit, and for noe other cause or respect, I stayed there present execucõn, and have left them as persons attainted in safe custodie in the Gaole there, to be disposed of, as it shall seem good in his Majestie's Royall wisedome. Nor doe I know or was privy of any other conviction of them, or either of them, in the peticõn mencõned. And, as concerning the peticõner Ellen Charlton, the state of her case is unknowne to mee, for that, in respect of her not appearance att the last Assizes, there was then noe publique evidence given before mee against her. All which is in all humblenes, hereby certified to his sacred Majestie.

By me, his Majestie's most humble subject and servante.

HUMFRAY DAVENPORT.

Serjeantes Inn, Fleet Street,
9th of October, 1630.

Petition of Ellen Charleton to the King, 15 *November*, 1630.

To the Kinge's most Excellent Majestie.

The humble peticõn of Ellen Charleton, widowe,

Humbly sheweth,

That the peticõner having two sonnes, both of them Indicted, convicted, and cast att severall Assises, holden att Newcastle, for

pretended theft of two mares and three cowes, and your peticõner, though absent, not tryed, in danger to bee questioned for an accessary, in September last, peticõned your royall (sic), that since the same factes were within the Compasse of your Majestie's gratious pardon; for the birth of your royall sonne, Prince Charles, the joye and hope of theis Kingdomes (whom God longe preserve), the peticõner and her sonnes might enjoy the benefitt thereof. Whereupon your Majestie the order to bee Certified, by the Judges of Assise, before whom gave parties were tryed, howe the case stood with the peticõner and her said sonnes, and whither or not they conceaved them capeable of the grace and favor desired. Accordingly, Certificate was made, and Your Majestie having seene the Certificate of Mr. Justice Davenport, whereby it appeared that the offences committed by the peticõner and her sonnes were done before the Birth of the Prince his Highnes, and not expressly excepted out of your Majestie's intended Pardon, was gratiously pleased to pardon the peticõner and her two sonnes their said offences, The peticõner and her sonnes putting in sufficient securitie for their good behaviour thereafter, And your Attorney Generall was to prepare a pardon accordingly, ready for Your Majestie's royall Signature, as by the peticõn, Certificate and severall references maie appeare. For effecting whereof your Majestie's said Attorney Generall directed his Warrant to the Clerkes of Assise for the Indictmentes of your peticõner and her said sonnes, but albeit Your Majeste's gratious intencõn and royall pleasure signified, yet the said Clerkes not onely refuse to deliver the said Indictmentes, but alsoe they and others seeke, as farr as in them lyes, to procure warrant (contradictory to Your Majeste's royall pleasure, so signified for the execucõn of her sonnes) and intend to prosecute the peticõner to the outlawry thereby, to gett to themselves that little shee hath, to her utter undoeing for ever, notwithstanding your royall grace and favor extended, unles Your Majestie be further gratiously pleased to give speciall command and direction therein.

In tender comiseracõn whereof, Shee most humbly beseecheth Your Majestie (for confirmacõn of your former royall Grace and favour extended upon the Birth of Your Majestie's said Royall Sonne, Prince Charles) to bee gratiously pleased to graunt your royall warrant, directed to the said Mr. Justice Davenport, thereby requiring

him that hee graunt no order or direction for the execution of her said sonnes, but that hee give command that the Indictmentes against the peticõner and her said sonnes maye be delivered forth with, to the intent Mr. Attorney Generall maye prepare a Pardon for them readye for Your royall signature, and soe they enjoy the benefitt thereof, according to Your Majestie's gratious intencõn.

And (as in dutie bound) the peticõner shall daily praie for Your Majestie.

At the Court at Whitehall, 15° *Novembris*, 1630.

His Majestie's pleasure is that the right Hon^ble^ the Lord Keeper doe informe himselfe whether these Delinquents be the same against whom the countrey have made particular complainte as notorious offendors, And if his Lordshippe shall finde them not to be such, then his Majestie is graciously pleased to pardon them. And his Lordshippe is to give order to the Judges that execution be staied, and that a pardon be drawen uppe for them for his Majestie's royall signature.

RA: FREMAN.

May it please your Lordshipp.

According to his Majeste's pleasure, signifyed by your Lordshipp's letter, dated this presente day, wee humbly certify your Lordshipp that John Charleton, alias Barr, and Thomas Charleton, of the County of Northumberland, mencõned in the inclosed peticõn, are notorious offendors, amongest others whome the Justices of Peace and Inhabitantes of that country peticõned against, for which two offendors amongest others) wee have received his Majeste's direction, under his signature, for execution to be donne upon them. In obedience of which his Majeste's comannd, wee have accordingly, by our lettres, gyven direction to the Sheriffe of the County of Northumberland for the due performance thereof. And so presenting our service, wee humbly take our leave, and rest,

At Your Lordshipp's command,

THO: TREVOR.

xviij. Novembr: 1630. HUMFRAY DAVENPORT.

[ADDRESSED.]

To the right ho^ble^ o^r^ singuler good Lord Thomas Lord Coventry, Lord Keeper of the Great Seale.

According to his Majestie's commandment, I have informed myself from the Judges of the last Northerne Circuit, concerning the pet^{rs} two Sonnes, the Delinquents mencõnd in her peticõn, and his Maj. reference, and have receaved Certificat therein from the said Judges, as by their lettres hereunto annexed appeereth. Humbly leaving the same to His Majeste's good pleasure.

THO: COVENTRYE, C.

Petition of Ellen Charlton to the King, 7th January, 1630-1.

To the Kinge's most Excellent Majestie,

The humble peticion of Ellin Charlton, a poore distressed widdowe.

Humblie sheweth unto your Majestie,

That, whereas your poore peticõner hath formerlye petitioned to yonr Majestie for a pardon for her two sonns, who, uppon wrongfull accusacion, were condemned and lost theire lives. And, whereas your poore peticõner (Mother to 6 poor fatherles children at hoame) for enterteyninge her said two sonns (shee knoweing noe misbehaviour or misdemeanor by them) is in daunger of her life.

And she beinge nowe in a most woefull and lamentable estate, even readie to lanquishe thorowe greafe and discontent, havinge laboured theise 20 weekes for her said childrens' lives and not prevaled. But thorowe long suite hath both spent all her means, and, without a quick dispatch, and your Majeste's gracious assistance and helpe therein, shee is in daunger of starvinge, and her six poore fatherles children at hoame ready to perrishe thorowe want of maintenance and releafe.

In tender commisseracõn and pittie of your woefull peticõner's estate, may it please Your Majestie, even for Christe's sake, to grant her Your Highnes gratious pardon for her owne life for all thinges whatsoever by past. That your peticõner may pass quietlie to succoure and releave her poore fatherles children, and (as in dutie bound) shee shall dalie pray for your Highnes.

May it please your good Lordship,

I have, accordinge to Your Lordshipp's commaundement, perused the petition of Ellin Charleton, widdowe, and if the suggestions therof

be true, that she is only in daunger for receaving her children, not knowing ther offences, she is very capable of his Majestye's gratious pardon; and if her offence extended further, that she did receave and interteyn her owne sonns, knowing ther offences, soe as she did not receave what they had stollen, nor incourage them to steale, I incline farr to favor a Mother in such a case.

But I humbly submitt it to Your Lordship's great wisedome, and his Majestye's gratious pleasure, when he shall be moved therein.

Your lordship's moet humble servant,

7 January, 1630. RO: HEATH.

In the great civil war, the Tynedale men took the part of the Royalists. Sir Edward Charlton, of Hesleyside, was created a baronet in 1645, on having raised a troop of horse for King Charles I. The patent of creation is still at Hesleyside. When the Roundheads triumphed, the Cavaliers' estates were confiscated, and Sir Edward lost his lands among the rest. Besides the property still retained by the family, he held many farms in Warksburn, which were gradually alienated during the last century. In 1666, after the Restoration, Sir Edward Charlton was in high favour. It was proposed at appoint him Governor of Hartlepool; but, by a letter yet unpublished, in the Record Office, we learn that objections were raised to this appointment, "lest it might bring in Popery," as Sir Edward's family had never changed their religious belief.

On the 24th of July, 1666, Sir Edward Charlton rode into Newcastle, with one hundred stout young men, of Tynedale, all armed and well appointed, and intended to serve under the Duke of York in his foot regiment. As the muster-master did not appear in time, Sir Edward gave them all money to procure quarters and provisions. In 1667, we learn, from the depositions in York Castle, published by the Surtees Society, a curious history of robberies committed in Tynedale, by horse and cattle thieves from Cumberland. In all their evil doings they seem to have been aided and abetted by one William Oglethorpe, of Cumberland, a gentleman of property, but a companion of thieves, who evidently felt themselves honoured by his company.

These Cumberland robbers broke into the house of Christopher Wannope, in that county, and Oglethorpe was to have been of the

party, but did not come. He had, however, assisted at several burglaries before, "for that a house was broken about Kirk Oswald, and in making their attempt, one of the company had a stone thrown at him by one of the house, as he was goeing upp the ladder, which feld him to the ground. Upon which they left the house, and tooke the corps, and carried him to Bewcastle, and there buried him. And soe the said partyes smothered it unto the dead man's friends, and said he had been sicke a weeke before."

From the deposition of Anne Armestrang, a companion of these Cumberland thieves, we learn that Archie Litle stole a blunt-taled nagg, out of Cumberland, which he carried to George Moore, of Long Witton, in Northumberland. "That tyme Moore helped Litle to a booty to carry back. They first attempted to steale a white maire with a fole, about Wooler, but were chased from her. The next night they stole five great beastes from Long Witton, and hurried with them towards Bewcastle. They drove the beastes by Wascow Shield, to the house of Thomas Scott, of the Doddbogg (in North Tyne), where Scott would not let them come unto the house, because there was a fox thatcher* there, but carried them to a sheyld harde bye his house, where he made them a fire, and got them meate. After two hours, they went out a mile further, to John Rackas Shield, where they part two beasts among Mr. Charleton's, of the bower, and stayed there all day. The next night being Sunday, they drive their beastes to Mongo Noble's save two that tyred, and were left at Doddbogg." The informant then went to John Martin's, of the Riding, and stole some clothes, which she left at Edward Charlton's, of the Newton, near Bellingham, for the said Charlton advised her to put on man's clothes, which she did, and left her woman's clothes at the Newton, and with them two old pieces of gold, three gold rings, a silver bodkin, and a green petticoat with silver lace—all of which she had stolen from Barwith house. And when on her return, she demanded these things from Charlton, of the Newton, he would give her none, but threatened to deliver them to a justice of the peace, if she demanded them."

The "profession" of cattle stealing seems to have existed in North

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* Probably a misspelling for foxcatcher, retained by the farmers for the sake of preserving their lambs.

Tynedale till far into the last century. In 1624, Adie Usher, of Liddesdale, was tried and executed on the Borough Moor of Edinburgh, for cattle thefts committed in North Tynedale. He had, with his son then hardly sixteen years of age, driven sheep, cattle, and goats from Sewingscheles, Emmetshaugh, Leaplish, and Hesleyside. William Heron, of Chipchase, and William Charlton, of Hesleyside, were the prosecutors. Usher's son was pardoned on account of his youth. Nearly a century later, in 1701, we have the confession of David Weir, in Edinburgh, revealing the extistence of an organized gang of horse stealers on both sides of the Borders. Francis Moraley, of Moralee, in Gofton Burn, seems to have been the ringleader, but the horses stolen from Northumberland were sold at Edinburgh, and further north, while the Scottish horses found an easy maket in Northumberland. Closely connected with these horse thieves was Charlton, of Lee Hall in North Tyne. Charlton, and Hall, of Monkridge, seem to have been both county keepers, or heads of the police in their own district. Hall had prosecuted some of the horse thieves in his immediate neighbourhood, and hence there seems to have been a general combination of the freebooters to ruin him by making Reedsdale the scene of their depredation. To this they were evidently prompted by Charlton, of Lee Hall. The whole confession of David Weir may be seen in the appendix to Sir Walter Scott's *Border Antiquities*.

The Armstrongs, of Grandyknowes, close to Houseteads, were a most notorious race. Probably they were originally from the Scottish border—

> "But their misdeids they were so great,
> They banished them to the English syde."

Nicholas Armstrong, about the year 1700, accused Wm. Lowes, of Crow Hall, in South Tyne, of having instigated two of Armstrong's brothers—William and Thomas—to cut out the tongue of William Turner, of Cringledykes. Turner's tongue was, however, not so entirely destroyed but that he was able to tell, in full court, the whole story. He said that William and Thomas Armstrong went up to him while he was trying to catch a horse on the common, and at first threatened to shoot him, but afterwards cut out his tongue, and with it his right ear and part of his cheek. Lowes denied the charge of

instigating the deed, and retorted that Charleton, of Lee Hall, knew more of the affair than he chose to tell. It seems that Lowes had underbid Charleton for the office of county keeper, in 1705 and 1706, hence the jealousy between the two, while the Armstrong's attacked Turner, to revenge themselves for his giving information against them in a horse stealing case.

Charlton, of Lee Hall, seems to have been a most turbulent character. His feuds with Lowes, of Willimoteswick, the county keeper of South Tynedale, are still remembered in Tynedale. Charlton seem to have been as bold as Lowes was timid. They had constant encounters, but Lowes, for a long time, escaped his rival. Once his life was saved by an old woman closing a gate after he had passed, with Charlton in hot pursuit, and the delay enabled him to reach his stronghold at Willemoteswick. Again they met and fought at Bellingham, and Lowes' horse was killed by a stab made at his rider by Charlton, Lowes escaping by jumping on the back of a horse standing near. A fragment of the old ballad made on this occasion is yet preserved :—

Oh, had Lee Hall but been a man,
As he was niver nane,
He wad have stricken the rider,
And letten the horse alean.

At length Lowes was taken prisoner in a fight near Sewingshields, and Charlton is said to have chained him to the grate of his kitchen fire, at Lee Hall. He is said to have been rescued afterwards by Frank Stokoe, of Chesterwood.

Then came another change of scene. The cavaliers who had triumphed in the Restoration, fell into disfavour at the Revolution of 1688, at least, all those who adhered to the fortunes of the Stuarts. The Catholic cavaliers, about all, became liable to constant suspicion and with a good reason too, for there were constant plots to restore the fallen dynasty. In 1687, there were seven Catholic gentlemen of Northumberland on the commission of the peace, and among them was Edward Charlton, of Hesleyside. He was, probably, put off the commission of the peace on the accession of William III. ; and in 1689, as we find from the depositions in York Castle, he was suspected for treason, in consequence of a letter from him having been

seized on its way to Albert Hodgson, a well-know "Papist" and cavalier in Newcastle. He was then accused of spreading false intelligence regarding the landing of King James, the newly-deposed monarch, in Scotland, but he escaped by denying all knowledge of the dangerous letter. The epistle is delightfully phonetic in its orthography.

"Mr. Hodgson,—My brother Jake is not yet comed home, but this week we expect him. As sonne as he comse I will sind mony for the hatte. As for news we heare that six thusand of K. J. forsis sartainly landed at Kintir, in the Hylands. They prist all bots and vissils (boats and vessels) in K. J. name to goe back to Ireland for more forsis, and they are gon, and the rist following fast. Allso there master who sartanly lands in Skotland. Fortty thusand Frinch landed in Ireland." The letter concludes with a commission to Mr. Hodgson, who, probably, was a general merchant in Newcastle. "Pray sind me too botells of your vere bist Rinnis, and two botells of whit wine, the bist you have. The clarred (claret) was so bad as we weare forst to sind for better, but I emadgen you had noo better." The old squire of Hesleyside drank Rhenish and claret in those days, for the poisoned wines of Spain had not then been forced upon the English palate.

In the same year, a fearful murder seems to have been committed on Gunnerton Fell. The murdered man was discovered by one of the Shaftoes of Gunnerton. He deposes that "on the 10th of May, 1689, goeing out into Gunnerton Moore, a gunning, very early yesterday morning, upon the breake of day, at a place called Stone Gapps, in Gunnerton Moores, he sees two gray maires, both sadled and bridled, and the one of their bridles tyed to the other's stirrup-iron. And seeing none neare the said maires, he brought them to the common pinfold of Gunnerton, and putt them therein. After which, he called his brother, William Shaftoe, and told him they would goe and see if they could see the owners of the said maires. And riding on the said moore to a place called Whitley Knoake, being further on the moore, and higher than ordinary, they hollowed there to know if any would answer them. And going northward on the said hill, they heard the voice of a man crying out, 'Helpe, for Christ Jesus' sake,' and wished hee had but a man to

speake to him before he dyed. Whereupon this informant and his brother goes northward to a burne side, and he spoke over the burne, and asked him what the matter was, and what he wanted, who replyed hee wanted nothing but a man to speake with him before he dyed, for he was a dyeing man. And this informer, asking how or by whome, he said there was a rogue had shott and murdered him. This informant asked him if he knew him that did soe, and he said, Yes, he knew him well enough. And askin him what they called him, hee answered, 'Roger.' This informer asked him if he knew his surname; he said noe, but one Mr. Errington, of the Linnells, knew him well enough, hee being once the said Mr. Errington's servant. And this informant and his brother rode through the burne and went to the place where he was lying waltering in his owne blood. This informant asked if the rogue had gott any money from him, and he said he had got two guinnies, one silver watch, one crowne piece of silver, three or four shillings, his crivitt (cravat) and sleeves. This informant asking him if he had not a hatt, he said, Noe; but hee had a velvett capp, which the rogue had gone with. This informant asked him if he had noe spurrs, and he said, 'O deare, and is hee gone with my spurrs to!'; and, findeing a piece of a pistoll stocke, hee saide, 'Oh dear! he had two pistolls.' And this informant, searching among the hather, found the stocke and locke of another pistoll, and asked him how the rogue came by the pistolles, who replyed, Mr. Errington lent him them before they came away. And askeing him how hee came to be soe farr out of the way, hee said they were goeing to the Highlands, to see the rogue's mother. And the maires were both his owne, and he lent the rogue one to ride on, and now hee's gone with them bothe. The rogue pretended himself to be sleepy and weary, and had a desire they should light and rest themselves a litle; and when they came and lay downe, the deceased lying on his belly, with his head upon his arme, never feareing anything, the said Roger shott in att his back, between his shoulders. And, after he had shott him, he fell upon him, beating and cutting of his head in several places with the pistolls. And he prayed him, for Christ's sake, nott to beat or cutt his head with the pistolls, and he would quitt him all that he had in the world freely, but the rogue said he would not; of which shott and wounds the said deceased dyed."

We learn no more of this sad murder, except that the murdered man was a gentleman of Yorkshire, of the name of Braidclyffe, of Farrbuyne. It is possible that he may have been travelling on some Jacobite errand; for the Erringtons, of the Linnells, were disaffected to the then government. It is curious to note, that Mr. Shaftoe. the informant, went out a gunning on the moors of Gunnerton, early on a May morning. It was the practice, even to the end of the last century, to shoot the old moorcocks in the pairing season, when they are much more easy of approach. In Norway, and in Germany, the practice prevails to the present day.

With the death of Anne, and the accession of the House of Hanover, the hopes of the Jacobites revived. The "Wee German lairdie" was most unpopular in England; nor did he ever become reconciled to our English fashions. The North Tyne gentry were almost to a man, Jacobites; and the influence of the Earl of Derwentwater, who owned the manor of Hareshaw, no doubt drew many to the standard raised by that unfortunate nobleman. Of the North Tynedale men, one of the leaders was Captain Hunter, of the Highfield, a man of no good character, and a noted horse thief. But another well known character at that time, in Tynedale, now appears on the scene—viz., William Charlton, of the Bower and Reedsmouth, generally spoken of by the soubriquet of "Bowrie." This was not the first time that Bowrie had been in trouble with the Government.

On the 21st of February, 1709, he quarrelled with Henry Widdrington of Buteland (?) about a horse*, as there was a horse-

* In these times the penal statute, by which no papist was allowed to possess a horse of the value of more than five pounds, was strictly enforced. In 1745, Sir William Middleton, of Belsay, seized the horses at Hesleyside; and in the Leadbitter family there is a tradition of the devices resorted to to preserve a valuable horse belonging to the then owner of Warden. The horse was first hid in the wood that borders Homer's lane, but having been heard to neigh when a picket of soldiers was riding by, it was thought dangerous to leave him there. He was accordingly brought back to Warden, and was lifted by cords up into the loft above the cart-horse stable, and there a chamber was built round him of trusses of hay and straw. His neighing here would, of course, attract no attention, unless the soldiers were actually in the stable. A few days after, while the house at Warden was closely watched by bailiffs from Hexham, the inmates were unable to get to the loft to give the horse water, and the poor animal consequently became

race that day on the Doddheaps, close to Bellingham. They adjourned to a small hollow south of the Doddheaps called Reedswood Scroggs, and which we can remember well as having been pointed out to us many years ago. The ash trees in that fatal hollow had not then been cut down; indeed, they were standing till within a few years, and served to mark the spot. Here the combatants fought, and Bowrie slew his opponent. He is said by one tradition to have been taken "red handed," as William Laidley (aw?) of Emblehope, who witnessed the fight, hastened to the Doddheaps, and alarmed the people, who seized the offender.* We are inclined, however, to believe

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extremely restless, stamping furiously on the floor of the loft. One of the Charltons, whose descendant still lives in Hexham, resolved to rescue the animal. While his friends led the bailiffs round to the back of the stable, to which they had been attracted by the noise, Charlton lowered the horse down through the trap-door, and jumping on his back, urged him at full speed across the haugh to the Tyne. It was a heavy flood, with much floating ice, but he dashed bravely in, and had nearly reached the opposite bank when the bailiffs became aware of his flight, but none dared to follow him; and he never drew bridle till he reached the friendly shelter of Nafferton, which was at that time occupied by the Leadbitters.

* The information of William Laidley, or Laidlaw, of Emblehope, regarding this case, is still preserved among the Allgood papers. It is dated February 28th, 1709.

"The said informant, upon his oath, saith, that on Tuesday, the 21st day of February, he was travelling upon the highway leading from Bellingham to Reedswood, together with one James Laidley, brother to the informant, and, in a wood called Reedswood Scrogge, near the highway, he hard a noise at a small distance from the highway, but did not know the meaning of it, but proceeding a little further, he saw a man running from a place where some men's cloathes were lying in said wood, towards Reedswood, and he perceived that he had either a hat and a periwigg, or a periwig only, in his hand; and so came to a place where a man was lying, and took him in his armes, though the informant did not see the man who was lying on the ground, till the other man lifted him up, and asked him where he was hurt. But the man who was lying on the ground did return no answer; whereupon the other man returned to the place whence he brought the hatt and periwigg, and brought from thence a coat, and asked him if he would have on his coat, but again there was no answer. Then did the other man call to the informant to come near, and, coming near, he saw that the man lying on the ground was Mr. Henry Widdrington, but he did not know the other; but he had blood upon his face, and he saw him take up a long sword, which was lying near the said Henry Witherington, and put it into his scabbard, and gird it about him. And he then desired the informant to send his brother to the Doddheaps to tell the people, who were at a horse-race there, and to lift up Henry Witherington, and put on his coat. But this informant, looking at Mr. Witherington, said that he was dead, whereupon the said man ran to his horse, which was tyed to

that Bowrie escaped on horseback, and that same night reached the residence of Nicholas Leadbitter, of Warden and Wharmley. He was concealed in the house at Wharmley, and walked the floor all the night in his heavy boots, to the surprise, and no doubt somewhat to the annoyance, of his host and his family. He subsequently obtained the pardon of Queen Anne, under the great seal, for this chance medley. Widdrington's body was buried before Charlton's pew door in Bellingham Church, under the inscription, now hidden by pew-work :—"The Burial Place of Henry Widrington of Butland, Gentleman, who was killed by Mr. William Charlton of Reedsmouth, February 23rd [21st ?], in the Year of our Lord, 1711." (1709 or 1710 ?] It is said that on this account Bowrie would never again enter the sacred edifice It therefore seems that Bowrie was probably a protestant, or at least had temporarily conformed, and this is the more probable, as we find in Patten's History of the Rebellion that his name is not entered as a papist. On the other hand, he is not designated a protestant, as are the other "rebels;" so we may fairly conclude that Bowrie had no religion at all. His brother Edward is said by Patten to have recently become a papist, having married a person of that persuasion. However, we find that Bowrie's lands are registered as a catholic's under the penal statutes in 1723. Be this as it may, Bowrie left no legitimate issue, and the children of Edward Charleton, his younger brother, succeeded to the estates. Edward Charleton had married the relict of Errington, of Walwick Grange, originally a Miss Dalton, of Thurnham, and Bowrie is said to have been anxious that his illegitimate daughters should be brought up under her care. She demurred, under the plea that they were protestants and she catholic, but Bowrie told her to make them what she liked. These ladies afterwards lived long in Hexham, and are remembered by persons yet living. They continued staunch Jacobites to the very last. On the first relaxation of the penal laws, about 1780, King George III. was for the first time prayed for

a tree hard bye, and mounted, and called to informant to attend to the dying man. Whereupon the said man rode away towards Reedswood, and informant went up to the Doddheaps to inform the people, and shouted to them to come, and they came to the place where the said Witherington was lying, and informant saw a wound upon his left breast, and some of the company said it was done by William Charlton, of Reedsmouth, whom he did not know by sight."

publicly in the catholic chapels in England. The instant his name was mentioned, the Miss Charletons rose from their seat and moved out of the chapel, and this they continued to do all their lives. We know not who were the friends by whose intercession Bowrie obtained his pardon from Queen Anne. It is probable that the occurrence was regarded in the light of a mere brawl; and tradition gives us, as one of the circumstances strongly urged in his favour, that, after Widdrington had fallen, he threw his own cloak over the dying man before he rode away from the scene.

We next hear of Bowrie as engaged in the rising of 1715, but the details of his exploits on that occasion have not come down to us. He behaved, it is said, bravely at Preston, but we do not know when he was relieved. In 1745, Bowrie was imprisoned as one suspected of favouring the Stuarts. It is said that this was done by his own friends to keep him out of mischief, for he must then have been well advanced in years. Bowrie no doubt felt his imprisonment keenly, and did his best to obtain his release. He seems to have applied to Collingwood, of Chirton, for this purpose, and we produce that gentleman's autograph answer, regretting his inability to do anything for him.

Dear Sir—I rec^{d} the favour of yours with no small concern, and am very sensible how uneasy your confinement must make you. I should be glad if it were in my power to put an end to it by admitting you to bail, and hoped the transmitting above such informations against you as had come to my knowledge, together with your own examination, might have procured leave to bail you; but, instead of that, the Duke of Newcastle told us in his answer that it was not proper to admit you to bail. I own I thought that answer cruel, unless it were occasioned by some further charge against you, which you must be the best judge whether probable or not. As you stand committed by the Mayor of Newcastle, the Bench of Northumberland cannot aid you, and as the Mayor is acquainted with the Duke of Newcastle's directions, I am apt to think he will not act contrary to them. I will, however, communicate your letter to him, and do you all the service I am able, but am afraid that you must apply to the Duke of Newcastle for leave for the Mayor to bail you before that step can be taken.

This is the true state of your case, which I thought it not improper to make you acquainted with, that you might be apprized I want power more than inclination to relieve you; for as I wish and hope you will prove innocent, I hereby sympathize with you in your suffering, and am, as I always have been—Dear Sir—your real friend and humble servt., Ed. Collingwood.—Chirton, June (?) 12, 1746.

From this time we do not learn much of him, save what has come down by tradition of his rough and roystering disposition. In 1736

James Tone, steward at Hesleyside, writing to Edward Charleton of Hesleyside, who had then, on the death of his father, succeeded to that property, speaks thus of Bowrie. We have preserved the remarkable orthography of the letter :—

"Bowrry Charlton wass all wayes vearry a-Bousiffe and scornfull man to my Master—and would a made him foudelled and sould him deare Bargains and abused him when he had done."

No doubt the old squire was rough and rude, and fond of his cups. Among the articles preserved by his descendants is a Venice glass, with a rose and oak leaf engraven on the bowl. Between these is a single star, to which, when the King's health was given, the loyal Jacobite placed his lips, and drank his Majesty's health "under the rose."* Another glass, of which but very few now remain, has Prince Charles's head and bust, with the motto, "*Audentior Ibo.*" Another huge Venice glass has on it the inscription, "*Pero, (dog) take your advantage,*" which may, however, have been only a drinking word of the old squire's. No doubt Bowrie, after his release, continued to cherish the memory of the Stuarts, and perhaps to plot a little in their favour when an opportunity occurred. Nothing was more likely than that he and his family should love to collect memorials of the Stuarts, and there is preserved a mull, dated 1745, with the inscription, "O Charlie, ye've been lang a cummin!" a pair of the well-known Jacobite silk garters, woven probably at Lyons, with the inscription, "COME LET US WITH ONE HEART AGREE—TO PRAY THAT GOD MAY BLESS P. C.;" and a pincushion, bearing the names of the victims of 1746 on the Jacobite side.† We suspect these pincushions to have been likewise made at Lyons, or somewhere abroad.

Another relic connected with these times is a letter written evidently by a conspirator, and couched in the most ambiguous terms. The original is directed to Mr. William Bell, supervisor, Hexham; but there can be little or no doubt but that it was intended for no

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* The star is exactly under a large full-blown rose, which doubtless symbolises the claimant of the crown himself. There are two buds, greater and lesser, on the same branch, perhaps intended for Prince Charles, and the Cardinal of York.

† Of white satin, with blue tassels at the corners. The inscriptions are printed from copper-plates, and the names run in circles round a centre, in which is a

such servant of King George, as the individual addressed in the letter itself is termed Dr. Cambray. This was no doubt a *nom de guerre*, and we have no means of knowing who was the Pontifex Maximus. Nor do we believe that Wylam is the real place spoken of as the place of meeting appointed.

D^{r} Cambray,—I had yours, and nothing could give me greater pleasure than to hear that our generous and worthy friend Bowrie is still able to bend a Bicker. Long may he live to teem a Cog, and (while he disdains the little superficial formalitys of our modern Gentry or those that would be thought such) to receive his friends with the old undisguised and Gentlemanlike hearty welcome.

The proposal he made concerning Carmichael is of a piece with the general tenour of his benevolent sentiments towards the honest or indigant part of mankind.

When he takes his flight from among your Northumbrian mountains towards the Elysian fields, he'll scarcely leave a fellow. Nor am I so partial to the Calidonian hills, as to believe they ever produced a man of more hon^{r} and honesty.

Carmichael is a good honest lad, but infected with that damned Scots disease never to spare his [property ?], or his purse where friendship or necessity calls. Notwithstanding, he has three callants will receive no arguments instead of a dinner, and the good wife, a yell [?] Kid in her Killting; so that if the affair could be carried on, I would willingly contribute my mite, but I want courage to beg for a Countryman.

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double rose displayed, and the inscription round it, MART : FOR : K : & COU : 1746 :— (Martyred for king and country, 1746.)

Obverse.

Inner Ring.—Earl Kilmarnock. Earl Derwentwater. Ld. Lovat. Ld. Balmorino.

Second Ring.—T. Deacon. Syddale. T. Chadwicke. G. Fletcher. J. Berwick. Ja. Bradshaw. J. Dawson.

Third Ring.—P. Taylor. P. Lindsey. A. Kennedy. J. McGregor. A. Parker. P. Keir. L. Read. The Revd. T. Coppock. T. Park. A. Blyde.

Outer Ring.—J. McGenis. J. Thompson Murray. Mayrie. Stevenson. McDonald. Dempsey. Connolly. Endsworth. Sparks. Horn. D. Morgan. Esqr. C. Gordon. McKenzie. J. McClain.

Reverse.

Inner Ring.—Col. Townley. Sir. L. Wederburn. Sir A. Primrose. F. Buchannan, Esqr. I. Hamilton, Esqr.

Second Ring.—M. Deliard. C. Gordon. Cap. McDonald. Cap. Wood. Cap. Leith. Cap. Hamilton. Dan. M. Daniel.

Third Ring.—I. Wallis. Henderson. I McNaughton. I. Roebothom. H. Cameron. I. Inness. I. Harvie. D. Fraizer. B. Mayson. Donald M'Donald.

Outer Ring.—The Revd. R. Lyon. Rol. Clavering. G. Reid. Eaton. Heys. Brady. Ogilvie. Roper. Brand. Swan. Holt. Hunter Mitchel. Nicholson. Matthews. Hunt.

If you see Bowrie, offer him my warmest good wishes, which extends to the tenth generation after him. Accept the same for the bairns, especially Bessy Bell, for I have had none to talk nonsense to since she left me. Tell her Madam Badrons has a pair of bonnie bairns, and swears revenge on her for diserting her office, as she was formerly nurse. Make my compliments to her Ladyship with all the havings you have, and believe me to be with paternal as well as pastoral affection, D^{r} Cambray, Yours while—PONT. MAX.—From the face of the Deep Waters, July 17th, 1750.

P.S. I almost dayly see men from South and North intirely strangers to the habitation of the Young Goodman of Bellnagih ; only they tell me his father alone knows where he is, assures them he is well, and desires they may be content and ask no more questions. Tom, of Lubeck, is here from Lond : and greets you kindly in the covenant ; he intends to kiss your hands at Wylam Sunday comes a week, where I must attend the conclave, but if he's diverted by his friends I shall give you notice. Mention the honest Bp. to Bowrie ; he was once his guest upon the Bellingham tramp. [*Address.*]—To Mr. Wm. Bell, Supervisor, Hexham.

The character of Bowrie here given is, in all probability, a tolerably correct one. The writer hints at his somewhat rough and unpolished manners, but bears testimony to his good heart. The allusion to the "Young Goodman of Bellnagih" is evidently meant for the Young Prince Charles, by the old Stuart soubriquet of the "Gudeman of Ballengeich." It would have been curious indeed if we could have obtained a report of what was discussed at the conclave, at Wylam, but no short-hand writer was present at these secret meetings to take down the dangerous words uttered, or the treasonable toasts drank, by the Jacobite squires of Northumberland.

Of the "grayne" of the Milburns but little has been recorded in print, while North Tynedale has retained some interesting traditions of this bold family. Many will still remember a fine specimen of the North Tynedale man, Muckle Jock Milburn, of Bellingham, a man of gigantic size and strength, and endowed with a corresponding power of lungs. Muckle Jock held many traditions of the old border days, which alas! have, for the most part, died with him. He told us that he remembered more than once clearing Bellingham fair with the Tarset and Tarretburn men at his back, to the old Border cry of

Tarset and Tarret burn
Hard——and heather bred
Yet—Yet—Yet.

He was a descendant of the Milburns, of the Combe, in Tarset. Indeed, he claimed Barty of the Comb, the subject of the following anecdote, as his direct ancestor. Barty was a celebrated swordsman, as well as of prodigious strength. He appears to have lived about the end of

the seventeenth century. Barty's dwelling was very near to the Scottish border, and, therefore, was sadly exposed to the inroads of the Scottish reivers, who still retained, long after the union of England and Scotland, the habit of making raids for cattle on the English side.* Barty's ally was a stout yeoman, called Corbit Jack, or Hodge Corby, whose peel stood a little farther up the burn, and is still in tolerable preservation. There is a slight attempt at a moat around it, and on a stone in the low doorway, there are three rude crosses incised. One morning, when Barty arose, his sheep were all missing, they had been driven off by Scottish thieves, during the night. He immediately summoned Corbit Jack, and arming themselves, they followed the track of the sheep over the hill, down the Blackhopeburn, into Reedwater, and thence across the border north of the Carter, into Scotland. Here they lost the trace altogether, and they seem to have been unprovided with a "sleuth hound" to track the thieves. Barty, however, insisted that they should not return emptyhanded, and, after a short council, they decided that the Leatham wethers were the best, and accordingly they drove off a goodly selection of these, and commenced their retreat. The loss was soon perceived by the Scottish men, who immediately despatched two of their best swordsman to recever the booty. They overtook Barty and Corbit Jack at Chattlehope Spout, and insisted that the wethers should be delivered up. Barty was willing to return half the flock, but he would not go back "toom-handed" to the Comb. The two Scots being picked men, would not hear of a compromise, and the fight began directly, in the long heather above the waterfall. Barty called out "Let the better man turn to me!" and the Scot, after a few passes, ran his broadsword into Barty's thigh. He, of the Combe, jumped round, and wrenched the sword, so that it broke, and at the same moment he was attacked from behind by the other Scot, who had already slain his comrade, Corbit Jack. Barty made one tremendous back-handed blow, caught the second Scot in the neck, and—as he expressed it—"garred his heid spang alang the heather like an

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* Roger Robson, *alias* Hodge Billy, of Sundaysight, near the Combe, was indicted at the assizes, in 1629, for stealing a dun mare belonging to Lionel Shipley.

inion." His first assailant tried to make off, but was cut down ere he had run many yards. Barty took both swords, lifted his dead companion on his back, and, in spite of his own wound, drove the sheep safely over the height down to the Comb, and deposited Corbit Jack's body at his own door.

Another of the Milburns quarrelled one day, in Bellingham, with a Borderer, and it was, of course, decided to settle their differences with the sword. As they stripped to their shirts, in the streets, Milburn paused, and shouted to his wife, who was in the assembled crowd, "Wife, bring me out a clean sark; it sall niver be said that the bluid of the Milburns ran down upon foul linen!"

Muckle Jock himself was no bad hand at repartee. He often accompanied Mr. William Brandling, of Low Gosforth, on his shooting excursions on Hareshaw. On one occasion, the Rev. Ralph Brandling, of Gosforth, was of the party, and he, unaccustomed to Jock's freedom of speech, roundly rebuked him with sundry most uncanonical imprecations. Jock heard all quietly, for he cared for curses as little as he did for blows; but, at the end, he observed, "Heck, man, they maun hae been unco scant o' timmer when they my'ed thee a pillar of the kirk!" Jock was often up at Mounces, when the Swinburne family were staying there in the Autumn. On one occasion, the late Sir John Swinburne entrusted to him a packet, containing letters of great importance, to take over the Border to Newcastleton, to the post. In those days, the post only came up North Tyne as far as Bellingham, and that but twice a week. Weeks passed away, and the letters did not reach their destination. Jock was asked if he had posted them at Newcastleton. "That did I no," replied the stout Borderer; "I just gied the packet to Archie, wha gied it till anither man, wha said he kenned a man wad be gannin sune to the post!"

On a very rainy day, Jock was sent with a message to Falstone, and to keep him dry, they offered him the coachman's heavy box coat. Jock performed his errand, but returned dripping wet, and without the coat. "I juist leavit it at the Fausestayne," said he, "it was better to be drooned than smoored!"

Jock was a keen sportsman, and particularly fond of greyhound coursing. Even when past his eightieth year, he could find a sitting

hare better than most men in the country. One day, when at Reedsmouth, he exclaimed to the late G. Gibson, Esq., "Mr. Gibson, it's a varrra long time sin ye gied me a hare." "Oh," said the squire, "you shall have a hare, Jock, at once;" and turning to his servant, Robert Riddell, he said, "Robert, take the gun, and Jock will soon find you a hare." "Hout, maister," replied Jock, "you need na fash wi' the gun, the hare's lying i' the dyke; I just felled her as I cam' down the pastur', but I wad na lift her till I'd gotten your leave."

No small indignation was felt among the peaceful borderers at the head of the North Tyne, at the publication of Macaulay's wonderful picture of their rude habits. It will be recollected that he painted the people of the Keeldar district as having been little better than savages within the memory of man. The late Sir John Swinburne was especially indignant. In a letter we received from him upon the subject, written long after he had passed his ninetieth year, he said, "I have been a landholder at the head of North Tyne for nearly three-quarters of a century, and, in my youth, I knew many old men who could remember the rising in 1715. After that fatal expedition, the Tynedale men were disarmed, and the country has remained exceedingly quiet to the present day. I am quite certain that Macaulay's sketch is wondrously overdrawn, if not absolutely false, in every particular." We, ourselves, took some pains, shortly after the appearance of Macaulay's work, to trace this marvellous story. From Macaulay, we traced it back to the late Sir David Smyth, and to the former Duke of Northumberland, Hugh Percy, who died in 1847. By that nobleman it was communicated to Sir Walter Scott. What chance had any story in such hands? It seems to have originated from a short note in the first Duke of Northumberland's manuscript journal of his first visit to Keeldar, to the effect that the shepherds there were exceedingly shy, and laid down on the heather to watch his performances with the gun. He adds, that they seem wild, marvellously shy and uncultivated. Perhaps the poor fellows remembered the demeanour of the proud Duke of Somerset, when he ruled in that district. Sir David Smyth's notes on Keeldar improved the story a little; he added a few lines about the wild dances of the men and women, and upon this Scott built his story, to which

Macaulay put the finishing touches. The Duke's note book never mentions the dances or the song, the chorus of which was "Orsina, orsina, orsina!" What language was it that they spoke? All the depositions taken a century before are in good plain English, with a dash of the Scottish tongue.

North Tynedale, and Reedsdale, are now what they have been for the last hundred and fifty years—quiet pastoral vales, peopled by an intelligent, handsome, and strongly-built race, as free from crime and vice as any part of the British dominions The Swinburnes and the Charltons hold the lands they held in the thirteenth century; the Robsons are rife about Falstone; the Dodds are yet numerous on the Border, and the Milburns are by no means extinct. May it be long ere these goodly names cease to be found in the district.

THE END.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE :
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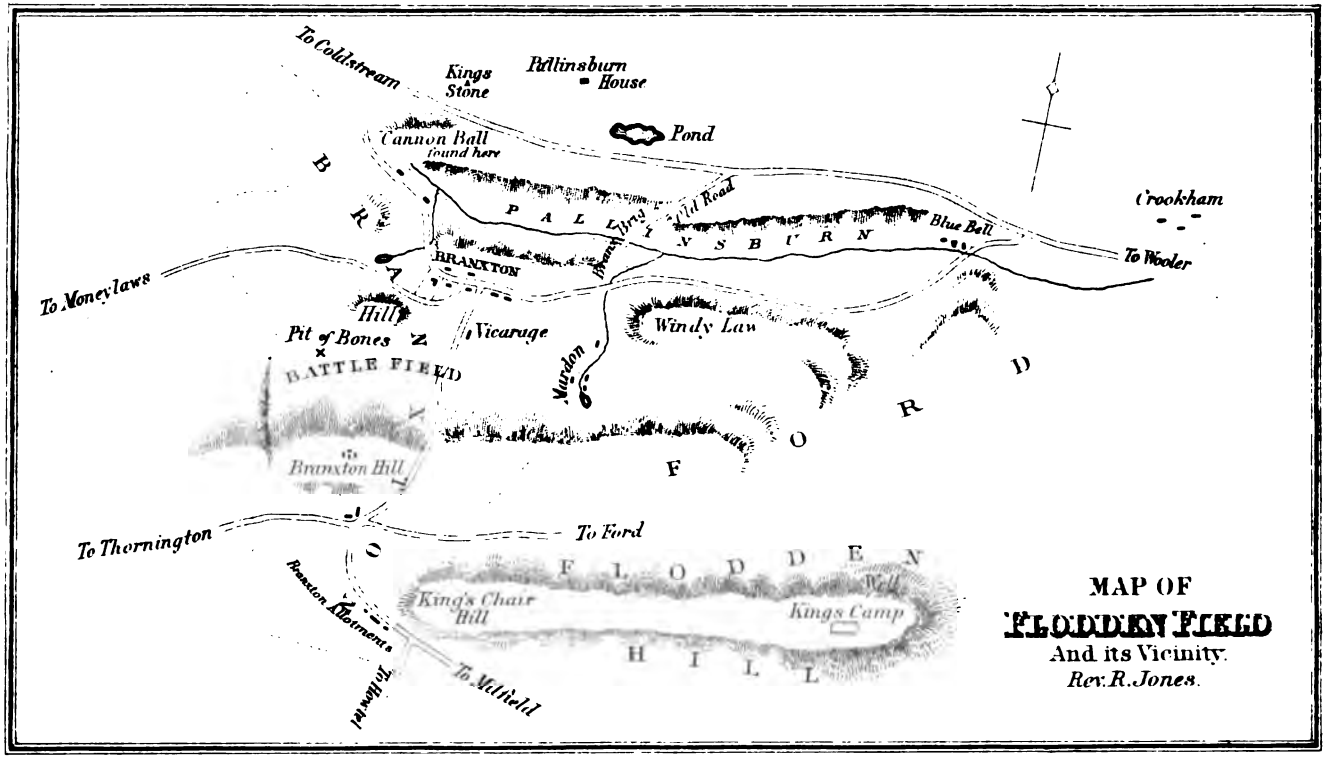
To Coldstream
Kings Stone
Pallinsburn House
Pond
Cannon Ball found here
B R A
P A L L I N S B U R N
Old Road
Blue Bell
Crookham
To Wooler
To Moneylaws
BRANXTON
Branx
Hill
Pit of Bones
Vicarage
Windy Law
BATTLE FIELD
Murdon
R O A D
Branxton Hill
To Thornington
To Ford
F L O D D E N
King's Chair Hill
Kings Camp
Well
H I L L
Branxton Allotments
To Milfield
To Ilbert
MAP OF
FLODDEN FIELD
And its Vicinity.
Rev. R. Jones.

To

Matthew Anderson Esq

with the best regards of

Robert White.

4th Apr. 1859.

THE

Battle of Flodden,

FOUGHT 9 SEPT. 1513.

BY ROBERT WHITE.

From the "Archæologia Æliana," Vol. iii., New Series.

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1859.

Gough Addl. Northumberland
4° 20.

The Battle of Flodden.

FOUGHT 9 SEPTEMBER, 1513

During the reign of James IV., which extended from 1488 to 1513, Scotland underwent great improvement in the arts and in the general administration of justice. The entrance of that monarch into public life was unfavourable; for, about his seventeenth year, he appeared in arms against his father, when the latter was slain, and by way of atonement for such error, he occasionally shut himself up for days in religious seclusion, and wore around his body an iron chain, to which he annexed some additional weight every year. But when such periods of penance were over, he entered freely into society, and by his bland deportment to the nobles, and kindly bearing to the lowest of his subjects, he was much beloved and highly honoured. His love of sports and frolicksome disposition gained him, wherever he went, the cordial sympathy and attachment of his people. He paid much attention to the art of healing, and prided himself upon being the best curer of wounds in his dominions. By his great constitutional vigour and temperate living, he practised with success all bodily exercises; and such was the order he maintained in his kingdom, that, with his cloak thrown around him and his hunting-knife by his side, he could have mounted on horseback, and, without a single attendant, travelled upwards of a hundred miles in perfect safety. Though no great scholar himself, he well knew the value of learning; for having a natural son, instead of appointing him to any office of civil importance, he placed him at Padua, in Italy, under charge of the celebrated Erasmus, and such were the acquirements of the youth, that by the influence of his father and the authority of Pope Julius II., he was appointed, at an early age, Archbishop of St. Andrew's. At this period, in Scotland, considerable encouragement was given to literature; for the University of Aberdeen was now founded, and the king granted pensions, besides other gifts, to Blind Harry, the metrical historian of Wallace, and to William Dunbar, a poet who in graphic ability and Horatian terseness of expression has not yet been surpassed, even

by Robert Burns. But no better proof can be adduced of the progress of letters in Scotland during this reign, than that Gawin Douglas completed in Scottish verse his translation of Virgil's *Æneid* about two months prior to the fatal battle of Flodden.

All this time England was making equally great progress in art and science; though up to the close of the fifteenth century, with exception of Chaucer, she had no popular versifyers or bards able to compete with Barbour and Dunbar. Some slight differences existed between Henry VII. and James the Scottish king, his son-in-law; but the former by his prudence soothed the haughty spirit of the latter, without allowing trifles to appear of importance. Not so, however, with his imperious successor, Henry VIII., whose presumption and power readily afforded matter of complaint to James, but unfortunately the latter was unsuccessful in obtaining redress. For example, John, commonly called the Bastard Heron, having been implicated during the preceding reign in the murder of Sir Robert Ker, a Scottish warden, and especial favourite of the king, for whose crime his brother, Sir William Heron of Ford, remained a prisoner in Scotland, was allowed to go at large in England, and lead bands of outlaws across the Border for the sole object of plunder. Again, the Bartons, a seafaring family, whose father's vessel, in 1479, had been seized by a squadron belonging to Portugal, obtained letters of reprisal, and captured ships from that kingdom; but complaints having been made at the court of England that her commerce was thereby obstructed, a couple of war-ships were selected to repress the grievance. They were commanded by Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Edward Howard, sons of the Earl of Surrey, and these captains falling in with Andrew Barton in the Downs, who was returning with one ship and an armed pinnace from a cruise on the coast of Portugal, gave him battle, and after a desperate conflict, in which Barton was killed, his craft and guns were taken, and employed in the navy of England. This was considered a great insult to James, who felt proud of his maritime influence, and when he demanded immediate satisfaction, an evasive reply from Henry was all he could obtain. The circumstance tended probably to irritate him the more, from the contrast it presented to his own conduct on a similar occasion. In 1491 Henry VII., annoyed at the success of the Scottish flag, and the bravery of Sir Andrew Wood, gave command of three large ships to Stephen Bull, who undertook to bring this Scottish rover of the seas to England dead or alive. Bull took his position behind an island in the Forth, ardently awaiting for his prey. Wood, with two vessels, hove in sight, and a most determined battle took place, which continued for two days, and the vessels drifting northward

to the mouth of the Tay, the three ships of England, with their crews, were captured, and carried into Dundee. The victor handed over Bull and his prizes to the Scottish monarch, who gave the adventurous captain and his people gifts, and sent him with the ships as a present to the King of England.

But beyond such differences as these, the main cause of dissension between the two kingdoms was the adherence of Scotland to the interest of France. About the beginning of 1513, Henry VIII. having entered into a confederacy with others who interfered in the quarrel between Pope Julius and Louis XII. of France, it was evident he meditated an invasion of that kingdom, and the King of Scotland employed every means to ward off the danger which threatened his old ally. He even proposed to his haughty brother-in-law a remission of all offences and damages suffered by his people, and afterwards observed that Henry might command every ship in his possession if he would abandon his hostile design upon France. Although rejecting these terms, Henry was desirous that James should remain quiet, and appointed Thomas Lord Dacre of Gilsland, and Dr. West, to conciliate and endeavour, if possible, to remove the differences which existed between the two countries. The latter proceeded to Scotland for that purpose, and when there exerted his influence to withdraw King James from the alliance with France. On this point, however, the latter continued immoveable, and after repeated attempts at negociation, West at last departed from Scotland, bearing with him letters from the king and queen. Henry was earnestly entreated thereby to make peace with Louis, or at least to defer his expedition to France for one year, and the queen in a spirited epistle upbraided her brother for his meanness in withholding a legacy of valuable jewels left to her by her father. The English monarch in reply accused James warmly on the rupture he had made of perpetual peace, to which both kings had previously sworn, yet he was inclined to pacific measures if they were practicable. In the meantime, having on the 6th and 16th of June sent off two divisions of troops to France, he set sail with the third on the 30th of that month, and soon after was stationed on his enemy's country at the head of an army of twenty-five thousand fighting men.

James all along suspecting the wilful disposition of the English king, was steadily preparing for war. He determined in the first place to assist France; and having bestowed great attention in the equipment of his navy, when tidings reached him of Henry's departure, he ordered his fleet, amounting to nearly twenty vessels, to prepare for sea, and be placed at the service of that kingdom. It sailed on the 24th of July

with three thousand troops on board, under command of the Earl of Arran. Those ships—the only fleet which Scotland ever prepared for war—by the perverse guidance of the commander, did not reach France till after the battle of Flodden was fought. On the same day when the vessels sailed, James addressed another letter to Henry, who was now preparing to besiege Terouenne, complaining of injuries and grievances, and in an urgent tone desiring him to return to his own dominions, else, on behalf of France, he should be compelled to desist from his purpose. The missive reached its destination in due time, and the King of England replied with considerable warmth, but the answer did not arrive in Scotland till after the death of the king.

Here it may be necessary to examine the position of James, and ascertain the causes why he adhered so closely to France. That kingdom had the policy to maintain a friendly intimacy with Scotland, sending her often provisions and arms, and assisting her in various ways as occasion required. Such acts of kindness, at a time when commercial intercourse was yet in its infancy, almost effaced the remembrance of the injury Scotland sustained on account of the former country at Noville's Cross, upwards of one hundred and sixty years before, and whatever might occur, James considered France a sure stay in case of adversity. He was likewise sagacious enough to perceive that if the arms of England were successful in overturning the state of that kingdom, Scotland might anticipate slight amity from a conqueror who was not likely to respect any barrier which stood in the way of his power or ambition. Besides all this, the king possessed great bravery, with a high sense of honour, and being slow to perceive any evil in those upon whom he bestowed confidence, the frank openness of his character tended to make him the dupe of crafty and designing men. In this way Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, won over by the gold and promises of France, brought all his influence to bear upon the king's weakness, and unhappily was too successful. This prelate had been sent to almost every court in Europe connected with Scotland, and by the most authentic of our historians, he is believed not only to have urged the king to his ruin, but to have sacrificed the interest of his country to his own worldly aggrandizement. He had been despatched as ambassador to France, and his aims were seconded by another favourite of the king, De la Motte, a French statesman, and a warrior both by sea and land. The latter was in the habit of bringing vessels laden with provisions to Scotland, and besides he captured by sea many English prizes, which he likewise conveyed thither.

It thus fell out that when the English armies landed on the soil of

France, that country redoubled her efforts to enlist Scotland in her cause. De la Motte accordingly arrived in Scotland with ships laden with wine and corn for the benefit of her people, but the most valuable portion of his freight consisted of a large quantity of crowns of the sun, a French golden coinage, which he distributed liberally to King James and his court. By way also of playing upon the temper of the king, with infinite skill, La Motte brought him a letter from the Queen of France, in which she represented herself as a high-born damsel in distress to her own true knight, saying she had suffered much in defence of his honour, and requested him for her sake to march with his army three feet upon English ground. This letter was accompanied by a precious ring from her own finger, valued at fifteen thousand French crowns. At the same time Bishop Forman, by letter also, remonstrated with his sovereign that his honour was for ever lost unless he assisted France, as he, the said dignitary, had promised in his name.

With exception of those who had been recipients of, and were influenced by the gold of France, the council of James, formed of his principal nobility, were opposed to a declaration of war against England, but the king would not listen to any pacific measure. He therefore summoned the whole military array of his kingdom to meet him within three weeks at the Borough Moor, near Edinburgh, with provisions for forty days. Scotland at that time, through the whole length and breadth of her boundaries, must have presented an animating spectacle. A thousand anvils rang from morning to night preparing armour and weapons; swords, spears, and axes were sharpened in every village; and many noble dames in hall and bower were busily employed, embroidering flags and pennons under which their lords were about to advance into England. It is said, when the multitude assembled they amounted to a hundred thousand men—a great army to raise from so small a kingdom, but all the attendants and camp followers were undoubtedly included in that number. Tidings of these warlike preparations being circulated in England, a marauding party from Northumberland crossed over into Scotland, and, as a commencement to hostilities, brought off considerable spoil. Upon this, Alexander Lord Home, Warden of the Marches, and Chamberlain of Scotland, having called together nearly three thousand men upon horseback, entered England by way of retaliation, and burned seven villages, besides collecting much plunder. Some detachments from the main body of the marauders hastened home with what they had secured, but as Lord Home and his immediate adherents were returning in a careless manner through the level plain of Millfield, they were attacked near Broomhouse by a large party

of horse-archers and others under command of Sir William Bulmer, the High Sheriff of the Bishoprick, who had been sent by the Earl of Surrey to defend the frontier. Cunningly concealing themselves among the long broom through which the path lay, they assailed the bands of straggling Scots, who were encumbered with booty, and killing nearly four hundred, took about two hundred prisoners, and put the remainder to flight. Home fled, but lost his banner, while his brother George was among the captives, and all the prey, comprising a large number of horses, was recovered by the English. This encounter took place on the 13th of August, and in Scotland the movement was generally known as "The Ill Rode."

Such a misfortune, with other singular, but very remarkable occurrences, tended to cloud the mind of the king, who was open to superstition, but did not prevent him from following out his martial design. As he sat engaged in his devotions in the church of Linlithgo, which adjoins the palace, a venerable personage, advanced in years, and wearing a primitive dress, came before him, and with an air of divine authority, warned him of the danger of invading England. A supernatural summons, also, at midnight, echoed from the cross of Edinburgh, calling by name the chief men of Scotland, who subsequently fell at Flodden field. The queen likewise dreamed she had seen the king fall from a great precipice, and that she lost one of her eyes; but all these premonitions, united to her entreaties that he would not enter into hostile collision with her brother, failed of effect. Animated by high chivalric daring, he considered the contempt shown to him by England deserved to be checked. It is true, that he and his people for the course of a generation were unaccustomed to war; but on reviewing his gallant army upon the Borough Moor, the sight thereof might well flatter the pride of a king. The known bravery and undoubted loyalty of chief and vassal, should he march to the south, afforded him a fair prospect of success.

Neither before nor since did ever Scotland furnish an army of fighting men like those who were collected at that time on the Borough Moor. Owing to the authority exercised by the sheriffs and bailiffs of the several counties, in observing that the troops were properly arrayed for war, they presented a most formidable appearance. The principal leaders and men at arms were mounted on able horses; the Border prickers rode those of a less size, but remarkably active. Those wore mail, chiefly of plate, from head to heel; that of the higher ranks being wrought and polished with great elegance, while the Borderers had armour of a very light description. All the others were on foot, and the

burgesses of the towns wore what was called white armour, consisting of steel cap, gorget and mail brightly burnished, fitting gracefully to the body, and covering the limbs and hands. The yeomen or peasantry had the sallat or iron cap, the hauberk or plate jack, formed of thin flat pieces of iron quilted below leather or linen, which covered the legs and arms, and they had gloves likewise. The Highlanders were not so well defended by armour, though the chiefs were partly armed like their southern brethren, retaining, however, the eagle's feather in the bonnet, and wearing, like their followers, the tartan and the belted plaid. Almost every soldier had a large shield or target for defence, and wore the white cross of Saint Andrew, either on his breast or some other prominent place. The offensive arms were the spear five yards in length, the long pike, the mace or mallet, two-handed and other swords, the dagger, the knife, the bow and sheaf of arrows; while the Danish axe, with a broad flat spike on the opposite side to the edge, was peculiar to the Islesmen, and the studded targe to the Highlanders.

King James at length putting his train of artillery into motion, which consisted of twenty-two pieces, chiefly drawn by oxen, marched to the south as light-hearted as he had been about to take part in a tournament, and crossing the Tweed near Coldstream, he entered upon his enemy's ground on Monday the 22nd day of August. The next two days, unless he employed a part of the time in besieging Wark Castle, would appear to have been inactively spent; for on Wednesday the 24th, he was at Twysel-haugh, and there issued an edict that the heirs of all who fell in that expedition should have "ward, relief and marriage of the king free." Thence leading his forces down the Tweed, he laid siege to Norham Castle, and speedily gaining the outworks, demolished one of its towers, killed several of its defenders, and the fortress surrendered to him on Monday the 29th. Remaining there probably till the next day, to secure the plunder, for a large quantity was stowed up in the place, he moved westward, and captured Wark Castle, bordering upon the Tweed, about two miles above Cornhill. Then the king led his army against the castle of Etal, which also surrendered, and if we suppose that three days were thus spent in obtaining possession of the last two strongholds, on Friday the 2nd, or at latest on Saturday the 3rd of September, suit was made to him by Elizabeth Heron, wife of Sir William Heron, that the house or castle of Ford, where she resided, might not be assaulted or thrown down. It would appear he agreed to the proposition, that if at any time before noon on Monday the 5th of September, she, the said Elizabeth, would cause to be delivered up to him the Lord Johnstone and Alexander Hume, then prisoners in England, the castle should

stand without being burned or spoiled. Occupied as the king was in conducting his army within an enemy's boundaries, it is unlikely that any correspondence between him and Lady Heron would be opened up until he was beleaguering Etal Castle, and the week then must have been far advanced.[1] If they met, it would appear to have been for a short period, for the lady departed to meet the Earl of Surrey, who assented to the conditions at Alnwick on Sunday the 4th of September.

Two weeks were thus spent in assaulting, taking, plundering, and throwing down two or three Border castles, without effecting any other important movement. Never before had such a force of armed men who belonged Scotland crossed the Tweed, and never before did any Scottish army, however small in numbers, inflict for the time so little injury upon England. Had the king been actuated by something of the spirit of Bruce, or that of the great leaders under that noble warrior, he might have penetrated to York, and, besides plundering Newcastle and Durham, swept the country and returned unharmed again to his own kingdom. The weather, be it remembered, was exceedingly unfavourable, for great cold and wind prevailed, and rain poured down almost every hour from the time of entering England; but this had not prevented James from carrying out any extended warlike measure, and it is apparent that though he drew the sword, he did not aim at striking a decisive blow. Undoubtedly he expected no opposition from England, and to march in a hostile manner upon her soil, to demolish some of her fortresses, to make known where he went his prowess and chivalric bearing, and to exhibit the pomp and splendour of his army south of the Tweed, seems to have been the extent of his ambition, for during the period of his absence from his own land, he never penetrated more than seven or eight miles beyond the line which separates the two kingdoms.

When Henry VIII. sailed to France he appointed Thomas Earl of Surrey, Lieutenant-general of the Northern Counties, telling him not to be negligent, and to place no dependance upon the Scots. Such a charge could not possibly have devolved upon one better qualified to perform it. He was an old man in his sixty-ninth year, and acquainted with war, having, with his father the Duke of Norfolk, commanded the

[1] The evidence supplied both by Lindsay of Pitscottie, and Buchanan, on the king's improper intimacy with Lady Heron, is certainly strong; but the time noted in the text is given according to our chronicles, and the reader may consult notes on this subject both in Lingard's *History* and in the *Pictorial History of England*, also an excellent little volume, Oliver's (Chatto's) *Rambles in Northumberland*. If report spake true, James acted ungallantly to throw down the lady's castle, after stipulating to preserve it.

archers in the army of Richard III. at Bosworth field, on which occasion his said father was slain. The threatening attitude of Scotland was well known in England, and Surrey collecting his adherents and tenants together, numbering five hundred men, rode through London with them on the 22nd day of July, and came to the castle of Pontefract, west of York, on the 1st of August. Without delay he ordered Sir William Bulmer, already mentioned, to proceed to the Borders with two hundred archers on horseback, and remain there in the strongholds ready to meet the foe. Thomas Lord Dacre, who had spies in his service, was also placed to give intimation of any advance of the enemy. Calling, therefore, the wisest and most intelligent noblemen and gentlemen left in the kingdom to his assistance, Surrey, by their advice and approval, made every preparation for defence, arranging with Sir Philip Tylney, who was his brother-in-law, how the troops should be paid, and directing Sir Nicholas Appleyard, Master of the Ordnance, how the artillery should be dispatched to the North. He also commanded all lords spiritual and temporal, with knights and others who had tenants or the command of towns, to enumerate the men under each who could be horsed and harnessed at an hour's notice, and ordered them to attend upon himself. Moreover, he appointed posts everywhere over the northern parts, that he might have that portion of the kingdom under his immediate controul. Equally great was the commotion over England with what has been told of Scotland. Every province of the North resounded with tidings of war, the people were in excellent heart on the stirring occasion, old and young men got ready their armour, females lent their assistance, and Queen Catherine herself, in a letter to Wolsey, dated the 13th of August, stated, "she was horrible busy with making standards, banners, and badges."

It has been said that King James crossed the Tweed on the 22nd day of August, tidings of which reached the Earl of Surrey early on Thursday the 25th, with the addition that his army were wasting the English Borders. On the same day Surrey wrote to all the northern gentlemen to be with him at Newcastle, with their followers, on Thursday the 1st day of September, and with his retinue of five hundred men he proceeded onward from Pontefract to York. On the following day he advanced to the North, amid such foul weather that his guide was almost drowned. During his stay at Durham he learned with much sorrow that Norham Castle had yielded to the Scots, and on the succeeding night the wind blew so furiously, he was afraid his eldest son, Lord Thomas Howard, Admiral of England, who had promised to meet him at Newcastle with a large number of men, would be lost at sea. But

on the 30th day of August he heard mass, and by consent of the prior, obtained, for the ensuing struggle, Saint Cuthbert's banner, which was borne by Sir John Forster—that ancient hallowed relic which before had waved over several battle fields, and was considered a sure pledge of victory. That day, being Tuesday, he moved forward to Newcastle, where he met Lord Dacre, Sir William Bulmer, Sir Marmaduke Constable, and others, upon whom he relied as councillors, and resolved that on Sunday the 4th of September he should take the field at Bolton, in Northumberland, a few miles west of Alnwick. The counties of Cheshire, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmorland, Cumberland, and other places throughout England, now contributed their forces of armed men, who came forward in vast numbers.[2] Boys even did what they could in the great cause of defence, for Henry Jenkins, about his eleventh year, who lived to be the oldest man upon record in England, was sent from the southern part of Richmondshire to Northallerton with a horse-load of arrows. Troops were crossing the Tyne hourly, and as Newcastle had slender accommodation for large numbers of men, the Earl of Surrey quitted that town to make room for those who were entering it, and journeying onward, he reached Alnwick on Saturday the 3rd of September. Inclement weather prevented the forces arriving in due time; hence he lingered during the next day in that town, when his son, the Lord Admiral, joined him with a large number of brave captains, hardy mariners, and others, wearing black armour, with St. George's cross floating above them. This reinforcement was most acceptable to the earl, who, calling his council together, proceeded to determine the order in which he should meet the enemy. Here, by cordial and general approval, he wrote to the King of Scotland, assenting to the proposition made by Elizabeth Heron to deliver up the Lord Johnstone and Alexander Hume, on condition that Ford Castle should neither be spoiled nor demolished. He further agreed that if King James would give up to Elizabeth Heron her husband, who was then a prisoner, as already stated, he the earl would cause to be delivered in exchange Sir George Hume and William Carr. The earl also observed, that as the King of Scotland had invaded his brother's realm, casting down castles and murdering his subjects, battle would be offered him on Friday first, as he, Surrey, was true knight to God and the king. With this missive, Thomas the Lord Admiral empowered Rouge Croix, a pursuivant-at-

[2] It would appear that there were men from all parts of England in the army. John Winchcombe, the famous clothier of Newbury, in Berkshire, commonly called "Jack of Newbury" was present, accompanied by a hundred of his own men, all armed and clothed at his expence. The kindling spirit of English patriotism extended much farther than the northern counties.

arms, wearing the red cross of St. George, to shew King James, that as he had been blamed on days of truce in not making redress for vanquishing Andrew Barton, he was now come personally to justify the death of that pirate, and would be found in the front of the battle, where he would give no quarter, save to the king's own person. It may be observed that a trumpeter accompanied the messenger when he was dispatched to the Scottish camp.

Accordingly, on Monday the 5th of September, the Earl of Surrey took his field at Bolton, where all the noblemen and others met him with their retinues, amounting to upwards of twenty-six thousand men. King James detained the English pursuivant, and sent Islay, his own herald, who was not allowed to approach Bolton, but on arrival of the trumpeter, Surrey despatched York herald with him to Mile, westward, at a distance from the camp. On the morning of Tuesday, Surrey, accompanied by the leaders of the army, each having a servant man to hold his horse, went thither, and gave Islay audience. The Scottish herald showed that King James gave no answer to the application for preserving Ford Castle, but he the earl was welcome as any nobleman in England respecting battle, and that if the king had received his letter at Edinburgh, he would have come and fulfilled the earl's desire upon the appointed day. To the forward message of the Lord Admiral, he the king did not condescend to make any reply. Islay then delivered a brief note written by the king's secretary, relating that his brother the King of England had broken peace first with him—that in vain he had required him to amend, and warning him of his conduct, he took this for his quarrel, which by the grace of God he should defend. The Earl of Surrey, on learning that James accepted his offer of battle, was right joyous, and praising the courage of the king, offered to be bound in a large sum of money he would not fail of his intention.[3] After some arrangement about

[3] Surrey seemed desirous above all things to bring the Scots to battle. In addition to his proposal that he and good surety with him should be bound in ten thousand pounds sterling towards the accomplishment thereof, the earl also observed that failing his promise, the following disgrace might be put upon him, and as it illustrates the early meaning of the word "baffle," the quotation is supplied from Hall:—"And farthermore the Earle bad the Heraulde for to saye to his maister, that yf he for his parte kept not hys appoyntmente, then he was content that the Scottes shoulde Baffull hym, which is a great reproche amonge the Scottes, and is used when a man is openly perjured, and then they make of hym an image paynted reuersed, with hys heles upwarde, wyth hys name, wonderynge, cryenge, and blowing out of hym with hornes, in the most dispitefull maner they can. In token that he is worthy to be exiled the compaignie of all good creatures." Fol. xl.

Shakspeare had undoubtedly the above passage in remembrance when he penned the following:—

"PRINCE. Where shall we take a purse to-morrow, Jack?

"FALSTAFF. Where thou wilt, lad, I'll make one; an I do not, call me villain and baffle me." *Henry IV.* Part Second. Act I. Scene II.

the safe return of the herald, the earl returned to the camp, and sent the whole army forward in suitable order of battle to Wooler-haugh, where they lodged that night.

We may here avail ourselves of a passing glance at the armed men who three days afterwards vanquished the power of Scotland near Branxton. The Earl of Surrey, as he is shown on the evening before the battle, in the *Memorials, &c of the Howard Family*, has his helmet placed before him with feathers flowing down behind, a sort of *tippet-like* plate covering the shoulders, whereon the white lion is conspicuous, other plates round his body descending nearly to the knee, showing also his blazonings, and leg armour to the toes, the plates of which at that place are very broad, and at the heels are large pointed spurs. Again, the nobility, knights, and men at arms were on horseback, each accompanied by attendants according to his rank. They wore also plate armour from head to foot, some sorts of which, belonging to superior men, were brightly polished and occasionally inlaid with silver or gold, while their steeds were richly caparisoned with housings embroidered with the devices of their respective owners. Among the spearmen and billmen, who were on foot, plate mail had given way to armour, similar to that mentioned previously as prevailing in the Scottish army, being composed of small steel or iron plates, of a square form, overlapping each other, and quilted either upon or within linen or leather. Such a covering was flexible, yielding to every turn of the body, and kept the wearer often safe from the thrust of a spear or the stroke of a sword. Many of the archers wore the brigantine or jack, like the spearmen or billmen, while others, as in the preceding reign, were "clad in a shirt of chain mail with very wide sleeves, and over this a small vest of red cloth laced in front, with hose on the leg and braces on the left arm." The horsemen had the mace or battle axe in addition to the lance, the sword, and dagger. The spearman, whose name indicates the weapon he bore, had also the sword and dagger, and indeed the two latter were girded on almost every soldier in the army. The two-handed sword was not in much request; but of the several arms mentioned, the most effective was the large bill—a strong blade with an edge from eighteen to twenty-four inches long, mounted on a handle of sufficient length, and wielded by the powerful and able-bodied peasantry of England. The archer, again, with his bow cased in coarse cloth, and a sheaf of arrows, beside the dagger and sword, on the hilt of which was usually a small buckler, had often a leaden mell which he bore at his back, and as the bow was useless in close combat, such a hammer was often fatal as the great bill. According to the fashion of the previous reign, white was the prevailing

hue of the whole army, save that of the mariners brought by the admiral, and all wore the red cross of St. George, except a dignitary of the church or an officer at arms.

King James, in the meantime, after the castles of Norham, Wark, and Etal had been taken and spoiled, came with his army before that of Ford, and whether it was through revenge of the death of Sir Robert Ker, or that the Lord Johnstone and Alexander Hume were not delivered up to him by noon on the 5th of September, or that the English army were at hand, it would be difficult to know, but he threw down the stronghold, by the falling of the timbers whereof, several of his men were injured. About this time large numbers of the army, having ravaged the adjoining country, whence they collected much booty and took many prisoners, owing to the continued severity of the weather, forsook their colours, and covertly retired with their spoil into Scotland. Those who remained, consisting chiefly of the superior men of the kingdom, and their immediate tenants or followers, were encamped on the grounds below Ford, and on the king receiving the hostile message from Surrey, a council was held to decide what measures ought to be adopted. The most sagacious of the nobles, among whom were Lord Patrick Lindsay, and Archibald Sixth Earl of Angus, called "Bell the Cat," concurred in the opinion that the army should return home instantly with what booty they had acquired. The main reason for this was, that the numbers of the army were now greatly reduced, and intelligence had reached them of the superiority in this respect of the enemy. Lindsay alluded to the imprudence of bringing all the nobility and gentry of Scotland into battle against Surrey and so many common English people, showing the danger to which his own country would be liable in case of defeat, and the slight honour which would accrue to her were they victorious. He advocated this point most forcibly in an apologue of a merchant playing at hazard with a gambler, wherein he likened their monarch to a rose-noble and Surrey to a bent halfpenny, being, as he said, "an old crooked carle sitting in a chariot," which might not be far from the truth. Angus, a veteran of sage experience, observed the king had already gained great honour; that the object for which they came into England had been fully accomplished; that great benefit had been rendered to their ally by drawing off and retaining for this occasion such a large English army; that if they returned home they would be better able to cope with the enemy in their own land; and besides, in their present strength, they would keep the English constantly on the watch, and no higher service than this could possibly be rendered to France. Hereupon the king was very angry, for

he threatened Lindsay with death on returning to Scotland, maintaining he would fight the English if they were one hundred thousand strong, and telling Angus if he was afraid he might go home—a taunt which the old warrior felt keenly, for it is said he burst into tears; but availing himself of the liberty granted, he retired, leaving behind him his two eldest sons, and a large body of his name and kindred, as pledges of loyalty to his sovereign. Looking, however, at the matter, in its various bearings, and taking into consideration the probable inferiority of his strength in point of numbers to the English, King James forthwith removed his camp to Flodden hill, a commanding position about two miles south-west of the former place. A battery of guns was planted on the east, to defend the bridge over the Till at Ford, and a square line of defence was thrown up round the camp, the traces of which are still visible. Here, on the evening of the 8th of September, he was joined by the Earl of Caithness, who brought with him three hundred young warriors all dressed in green.[4]

In the *Memorials, &c. of the Howard Family* already alluded to, the Earl of Surrey is represented, on the morning before the Battle of Flodden, kneeling upon a cushion in the attitude of prayer; but one may suppose that when engaged in strife a steady but vengeful fire would glow from his dark eyes, as if it would scorch up his enemies. Had he been desirous to spare the effusion of blood, it had been well on his part could he have induced the King of Scotland to depart peaceably to his own land. But this he was eager to prevent, as if conscious that his own army were superior to that of Scotland, and above every other consideration, he seemed wishful that James should remain. So intently he appears to have sought mortal combat, that it may almost be suspected some serious affront had been put upon him by the king, which could only be expiated by blood, but of this there is no trace on the side of James, who uniformly treated the earl with courtesy and kindness. Ten years be-

[4] This incident is related in a note appended to Dr. Leyden's beautiful *Ode on Visiting Flodden*:—

"Under the vigorous administration of James IV., the young Earl of Caithness incurred the penalty of outlawry and forfeiture, for revenging an ancient feud. On the evening preceding the battle of Flodden, accompanied by three hundred young warriors, arrayed in green, he presented himself before the king, and submitted to his mercy. This mark of attachment was so agreeable to that warlike prince, that he granted an immunity to the earl and his followers. The parchment on which this immunity was inscribed, is said to be still preserved in the archives of the Earls of Caithness, and is marked with the drum-strings, having been cut out of a drum-head, as no other parchment could be found in the army. The earl and his gallant band perished to a man in the battle of Flodden; since which period, it has been reckoned unlucky in Caithness to *wear green*, or *cross the Ord on a Monday*, the day of the week on which the chieftain advanced into Sutherland."

Leyden's *Poems*. Kelso, 1858. p. 298.

fore, they were very friendly;[5] for Surrey was commissioned to convey to him his royal bride, and the earl witnessed all the pageantry and festivity both before and after that joyous occasion, while his countess, on the day after the marriage, was presented with "xv elne claith of gold, quhen sche and her dochter, Lady Gray, clippit the king's berde." Still, it may have been in his public capacity alone that Surrey acted as he did, and if so, justice on his part was the less tempered with mercy. Viewing him in this light, he was so bent upon his duty of repelling assault, that no previous intimacy with an adversary, could avert in any degree his intended blow. Successful by his first epistle to the king in turning the bravery of the latter to his own hostile purpose, and learning on the return of Rouge Croix that the Scottish camp was removed to the hill of Flodden, a place admirable for defence, he again, by advice of his council, wrote to the king, to induce him, if possible, to descend from his position, which, he observed, resembled a fortress, and fight on Millfield Plain, which lay directly between the two armies. The missive was dated from Wooler-haugh, on the 7th September, at five o'clock in the afternoon, and signed by Surrey and eighteen of the principal men of the army. But the herald who conveyed it was not admitted to the royal presence, and the reply was, that it became not an earl to write in that way to a king; only no *sorcery* should be used, and no dependance was placed on any ground When the messenger-at-arms returned to Wooler-haugh early on Thursday the 8th, and shewed how the king would not abandon his place, another plan was devised. The English began to experience the want of provisions, for it would seem they brought none with them, and every article of food in the district before them had been prudently removed, lest it should be taken or destroyed by the enemy. Something effective, therefore, was necessary to be done, and by arrangement of Surrey and his council, the whole force advanced forward to the North, crossing the Till, and marching by Doddington, till they reached Barmoor Wood, about five miles north-east of Flodden, where they encamped for the night. East of Ford is a ridge of hills, from the highest point of which Lord Howard, the admiral, carefully observed the position of the Scottish army. On the evening of the same day, it was concluded to march again across the

[5] Soon after Queen Margaret's arrival in Edinburgh, she thus wrote to her father, Henry VII.:—

"My lorde of Surrey ys yn great favor with the Kyng her, that he cannott forber the companey of hym no tyme off the day. He and the bichopp off Murrey ordereth every thyng as nycht as they can to the Kyng's pleasur."

Ellis's *Letters*, First series, i., 42.

Till, not far from its confluence with the Tweed, and give battle to the enemy.

Next morning early, being Friday, the memorable 9th of September, in accordance with the said resolution, the English army were in motion, and instead of keeping the way direct to Berwick, they swerved to the north-west by Duddo, advancing between King James and his own land. At this time, Giles Musgrave, an Englishman, who was with the Scots and in favour with the king, endeavoured, though ineffectually, for the benefit of his own country, to persuade him to descend from Flodden, under pretence that Surrey was on his way, to waste and plunder Scotland. But the vanguard under command of Lord Howard, with the artillery, and stores consisting of baggage and ammunition, crossed the Till about eleven o'clock, at Twysel bridge, which is still remaining. The rearward, with its commander, the Earl of Surrey, also passed that stream about a mile higher up, at a place then called Millford, probably a ford near the mill of Heton, sufficiently shallow for the main body to pass over. Nearly all our historians blame King James for not attacking the English when they crossed the river, which, they relate, he might have done with great advantage, but Twysel is at a distance of about five miles from Flodden, and the king would not then abandon his favourable position.

Both the nobles and people of Scotland, being averse to the inroad, were opposed to war, and ere they left home, had all heard of the several warnings given to the nation, not to hold out mortal defiance to England. Even now, trifles had occurred to make them dread the worst, and almost every circumstance tended to lessen the assurance of a fortunate issue to the combat in which they were about to engage. In a council held by the king and his chief men, a hare started up among them, and though many a hand was lifted against the timid animal, it escaped through the whole army. The cloth of the royal tent, on the morning of the battle, was wet with moisture of a red colour, and mice had gnawed asunder the leathern strap which fastened the king's helmet. Still more, Friday from time immemorial was considered an unpropitious day, and now an event was to be decided thereon, upon which depended the destinies of a kingdom. All joyous sounds and lovely lineaments of the year had passed away. The very sky, we may suppose, was cloudy, for a south-east wind played mournfully among the trees, the leaves of which had lost the bright hue of summer, while the long grass, drenched with rain, waved sadly above the damp soil. Patches of cultured fields, few in number, had been stripped of the season's growth, and this the Scots had wasted and destroyed. The

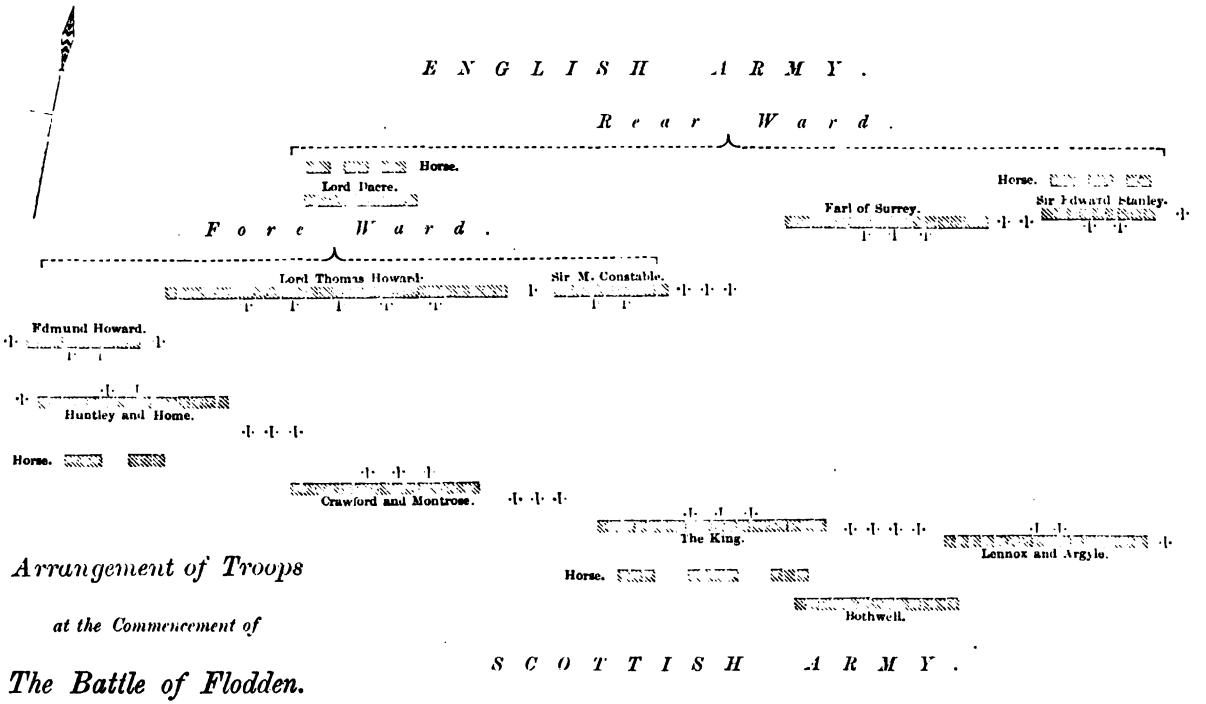
very face of nature was in the course of being changed, and many of themselves, as the hour of battle was at hand, would be swept away by the strong arm of the avenging foe.

When the English army emerged from the banks of the Till, and proceeded between King James and Scotland, their movement could not fail to cause great excitement among the Scots. Had they come either by the plain of Millfield or by Ford bridge, the king was ready to give them battle, but he had not anticipated any attack from the north. Could it be that the Earl of Surrey intended to assault him in his entrenchments, or did he mean to take possession of the neighbouring eminence, upwards of a mile to the west, called Branxton hill? The latter was evidently that leader's design, for the banners of his army moved on in that direction, and if he obtained such a position, he would not only annoy those in the camp, by cutting off all communication between them and Scotland, but meet them in battle at his pleasure on ground equal, if not superior, to that which they themselves occupied. The king, therefore, considering it would detract from his honour were he to remain still, as if beseiged in a fortress, or trust more to the strength of the ground he held than to the bravery of his people, resolved to quit Flodden, and occupy Branxton hill before it could be secured by the English. This was immediately carried into effect. The artillery, comprising seven beautiful culverins, founded by Robert Borthwick, and named the "Seven Sisters," were sent off first, the fighting men, in battle array, followed, with the king and his nobility on horseback near them; the spoil and provisions were speedily removed, and fire being applied to the litter and refuse left behind, the smoke thereof, borne by the wind, floated densely away between the two armies.

During the two previous days the English had little else than water to drink, and on the day of conflict they had scarcely any food to eat, yet encouraged by the Earl of Surrey, who desired that they should acquit themselves like Englishmen, they advanced towards Branxton in regular order. At that hour it must have been a thrilling sight to witness such an host of determined men marching towards the Scots, with flags and pennons innumerable of every form and device floating above them, prepared to do battle in defence of their country. They were separated into two bodies or wards, nearly equal in number, each having a centre and a right and left wing—the foreward being on the right, and the rear or main-ward on the left. The former was commanded by Lord Thomas Howard, the admiral, with Henry Lord Clifford, usually called "the Shepherd Lord," aged sixty, Richard Nevill Lord Latimer, Lord Scrope of Upsal, Sir Christopher Ward, Sir John Everingham, Sir

Nicholas Appleyard, Sir William Sydney of Penshurst, Thomas Lord Conyers of Sockburn, John Lord Lumley, William Baron of Hylton, Sir William Bulmer and others, being the power of the Bishoprick under the banner of Saint Cuthbert, Robert Lord Ogle, Sir William Gascoigne the elder of Leasingcroft, Sir John Gower, and divers other gentlemen of Yorkshire and Northumberland, with their tenants and followers, also the mariners brought by the admiral himself, the whole amounting to about nine thousand men. Westward of the foreward, but near to it, was the extreme right wing under Sir Edmund Howard, brother to the admiral, and Marshall of the host, with whom were Sir Bryan Tunstall and one hundred men, Sir Thomas Butler of Beausey, Sir John Bothe, Sir John Lawrence of Dun, Sir Richard Bold with his vassals and archers from Lancashire, Sir Richard Cholmondeley of Cheshire, Sir John Bigot, Sir Thomas Fitz-William, Sir Robert Warcop, the men of Hull, the king's tenants of Hatfield, many from Lancashire and the county palatine of Chester, and two hundred men from the south of England, numbering altogether above three thousand. East of the Admiral's battalion was his left wing, under charge of Sir Marmaduke Constable of Flamburgh, who was seventy years of age, William Constable, his brother, Sir Robert, Marmaduke, and William, his sons, Sir William Percy, his son in law, with a large number of retainers of his brother, Earl Percy, Sir John Constable, others from Yorkshire and Northumberland, and all their respective followers, together with one thousand men from Lancashire, almost approaching in number to those who formed the right wing. Such was the foreward, and it was considerably in advance of the other portion of the army.

The centre of the rearward was commanded by the Earl of Surrey, in company with Sir Philip Tylney, Henry Lord Scrope of Bolton, Sir John Radcliffe of Lancashire, Sir George Dacre, Christopher Pickering, George Darcy, Sir Richard Tempest, Sir John Mandeville, Sir Christopher Clapham, William Gascoigne the younger, Bryan Stapleton, John Willoughby, John Stanley with the Bishop of Ely's servants, Sir Lionel Percy with an hundred followers and the Abbot of Whitby's tenants, the citizens of York and others, with their retainers, numbering, as records tell us, about five thousand men. Westward of Surrey, forming his right wing, though placed somewhere behind the other divisions, that assistance might be rendered when required, was Lord Dacre with fifteen hundred horse, the bowmen of Kendal wearing milk-white coats and red crosses, and the men of Keswick, Stanmore, Alston Moor, and Gilsland, chiefly bearing large bills. In company with Dacre was the Bastard Heron, commanding another troop of horse, trained to



Arrangement of Troops

at the Commencement of

The Battle of Flodden.

Border depredation, and ready at any time for battle. On the eastern edge of the field, forming Surrey's left wing, was a numerous division, both of horse and foot, headed by Sir Edward Stanley, a knight whose father having married the mother of Henry VII., brought him into close relationship with the king. Saving Sir William Molyneux of Seftonhall, in Cheshire, and Sir Henry Kickley, it is difficult to glean from our chronicles who were his gallant companions in arms, but his own son of the same name bore his banner, and his influence being extensive, he commanded the chief power of Cheshire and Lancashire—men well adapted for war, and exceedingly dexterous in the use of the bill and long bow. We have no direct information of the numbers contained in these two wings, but computing them at a low average, if upwards of three thousand be assigned to Stanley, and less than that amount to Lord Dacre, we shall probably be not far from the truth, for the force of the former, occupying the whole eastern side of the battle field, is estimated to have been the greater. These numbers, be it remembered, are in accordance with statements supplied by English writers who lived at or near that period, and whose narratives were published during the lifetime of many of the Flodden heroes.[6]

Unfortunately we have no authority, either from the English or Scottish historians, on which reliance can be placed, for ascertaining precisely the numbers of the Scottish army. Judging, however, from the desertions which took place day and night from the camp, four or five days previously—the eagerness of Surrey for battle, who we may suppose well knew what power he had to encounter—the desire of the Scottish nobles to withdraw over the Tweed, and the final result of the conflict, we would say the whole force at the king's disposal did not exceed from twenty to twenty-four thousand fighting men. It is said the Scottish nobles were desirous that the king should retire, and remain as a spectator aloof from danger, and then, however the fortune of the day went, his life would be preserved for the welfare of his country. They proposed the forces of the north should be led on by the Earls of Huntley, Argyle and Crawford; those of the west, by the Earl of Glen-

[6] See a tract of four leaves comprising a sketch of the battle, reprinted in 1809, under revise of Haslewood, and sold by R. Triphook. In 1822, it was added to the publications of the Typographical Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The original had been emprinted by Richard Faques, shortly after the encounter, but from the incoherence of the sentence at which the second leaf ends and the third begins, though the catch-word "say-de" agrees, one leaf or more may have been wanting. The best and most ample account of the conflict, however, is found in Hall's *Chronicle*, an edition of which was published in 1550, four years before the demise of Thomas Lord Howard, the admiral, who, after the death of his father, became third Duke of Norfolk.

cairn and the Lords Graham and Maxwell; and the strength of the south, by the Earls of Angus, Bothwell, and the Lord Home. But the king would not listen to any arrangement of that kind, and hence it was rejected. Indeed, from the leaders themselves being inexperienced in every plan relating to open-field warfare, and participating in the universal excitement caused by the rapidity with which they were at last assailed, it is probable that the troops were not arranged in the most approved manner to withstand and vanquish an opposing army. They were divided into five battalions, each numbering probably from four to five thousand, the king himself heading that in the centre, whereby he was supported by two wings on every side. Four of these divisions occupied the whole front of Branxton hill, looking to the north, and ranging in lines from west to east, with the artillery placed both before each body of men and in the open spaces between them. That which remained, forming the fifth, was placed behind the king on his right, and leaned towards the rear of that on the eastern side of the field. Farthest to the west was the extreme left wing, under Alexander Earl of Huntley and the Lord Home—the former commanding Highlanders from Aberdeenshire and other places, and the latter, being Warden of the Marches, guiding the fierce Borderers, who were inured, from boyhood, to the strife and commotion of war. Next was another division from the central part of the Lowlands and from Forfarshire, north of the entrance to the Firth of Tay, under charge of John Earl of Crawford and William Earl of Montrose. The third, towards the east, being the main body, was commanded by the king himself, the principal men of the Church, and the nobility, with the gentry, many of whom fought like common soldiers, and the whole comprised the very best and bravest warriors of Scotland. Eastward again, in front, was the extreme right wing of the Scottish army, strong in numbers, but consisting chiefly of undisciplined mountaineers from the west of Scotland and the Isles, led on by Matthew Earl of Lennox and Archibald Earl of Argyle. The last battalion, already alluded to, consisted chiefly of yeomen and others from the Lothians, with the burghers of the larger towns on the coast, under the guidance of Hepburn Earl of Bothwell. This was a division of reserve stationed to yield help where it was requisite, but more especially to wait upon and succour the king. Flags and pennons of every kind, more than could be counted, waved and fluttered in the wind; and we may suppose that near the centre of the whole floated the royal banner of Scotland, borne by Sir Adam Forman, with the well known bearings upon it, chiefly in gold. But for all this display, the warriors who composed the army, knowing they ought not to have been there, grasped their weapons with a hesitating hand.

It was not for Freedom, or to roll back the tide of Oppression, that they were about to join in battle. They had been led to the field by the king; but, actuated by no lofty or patriotic aim, they occupied their position more in self-defence, than with the stern determination to meet, and, if possible, to overcome their enemy.

During the advance of the English, the smoke floating away to the north-west from the deserted camp, completely concealed the armies from each other. The day was now far spent, but Lord Howard's troops with his right and left wings, accompanied by the artillery, and directed onward by able guides, still led the way. Natural wood at that time skirted all the lower parts of the valley, at the bottom of which was a morass of considerable length, where the slender stream of Pallinsburn now flows, and when the Admiral with his forces crossed a small brook there named Sandyford, which a man might step over, the smoke had cleared away, and the divisions of the Scottish army, some square and some in the form of a wedge, were observed near at hand, with long spears and banners displayed, extending along the whole northern brow of the hill. Unable himself, with the forces he commanded, to encounter the foe with any reasonable hope of success, the admiral halted, and, taking the *Agnus Dei* which hung at his breast, he sent it to his father, with a request that in all haste he would advance to the conflict. Speedily the Earl came up with the rearward, until the battalions, though within a bow-shot apart, were nearly in a line with each other, and then they moved together onward with their faces to the south, the artillery being still placed in due order before and between the columns. At length, on arriving within range, the guns on both sides opened fire. The Scottish cannon, standing on ground so high above the masses of men at whom they were pointed, and being without any support save their own weight in the recoil, shot over the heads of the English, doing little or no injury; while those of England were discharged with such precision that the chief-gunner slew the master of the Scottish ordnance, beating off the men from their guns, and killing many in the ranks. When, however, the opposing squadrons successively approached and confronted each other closely, the firing was gradually discontinued.

As the English advanced onward, circling the western base of Branxton hill, that they might enter into close battle, Sir Bryan Tunstall took up mould from the ground and put it into his mouth in token of his mortality. He was in the wing of the foreward under Sir Edmund Howard, and between four and five o'clock in the afternoon that leader's division, having ascended the western acclivity of the hill, was the first

to encounter the left wing of the Scots led on by Huntley and Home. The attack of the Highlanders with swords and axes, and the Borderers with levelled spears, was fierce and terrific. The Marshall endeavoured, however, to withstand the onset bravely, and his exertions were ably supported, but having under him a large number of men from Cheshire, who were jealous of the power of the Howards, and much attached to the house of Stanley, these with several from Lancashire and Yorkshire, when they were met by the Scots, unhappily turned their backs and fled, whereupon Tunstall was slain, and the other warriors, who formed the wing, were placed in the most imminent danger. They wavered for a time, but the valour of Scotland prevailed, for Sir Edmund Howard, though cased in complete steel, was three several times felled to the ground, his division was speedily put to flight, and many prisoners taken. This was performed almost in full view of both armies, while the Bastard Heron, though sore wounded, for the adjoining English and Scottish wings had already joined battle, came with his outlaws to the leader's rescue, and Lord Dacre, with his horse and bowmen, arrived in time to check the impetuosity of the Scots, killing several friends of Lord Home and others—not, however, without injury to his own party, for his brother Sir Philip was taken prisoner and many of his adherents slain.

When the conflict began, the position of the King's army was admirable, for he had an advantage highly essential to success in military evolutions, which great generals cannot always procure—that of causing his enemy to fight him on ground of his own selection. Defective as his strength might be in point of numbers, had he remained where he was, maintaining his position, and making his battalions keep their place till encountered foot to foot by the foe—then regulating their movements as occasion required—every chance was in his favour for victory. But the great defect in his character, a blind and somewhat romantic attachment to what he conceived to be high honour and chivalric principles, again became apparent, and he imprudently threw away the privilege he held on a hazard of very doubtful issue. Possessing also, to a remarkable degree, the power of kindling those around him with his own heroic energy, he had the utmost confidence that every man under his sway would exert himself to the utmost for the honour of Scotland. Moreover, in his reply to Surrey, he had avowed his contempt for any advantage of ground: upon this he had acted on quitting Flodden, and now the English cannon galled his ranks, while his own artillery, deserted by the gunners, could not repay the enemy's fire with anything like effect. Having likewise witnessed the bravery of his left wing, headed by Huntley and the Chamberlain—for the struggle there was

yet undecided—and obeying the impulse of his own sanguine temperament, he dismounted from his horse, and commanding the chief nobility and gentry around him to do the same, he advanced with his division against the enemy. The next battalion, under Crawford and Montrose, and also that of Bothwell, accompanied him—the former on his left being in advance, and the latter partly behind to the right, still retaining its distance from his own. This lack of prudence on the part of the king—for again he opposed the advice of his council—amazed every one near him, and his steadiest friends regarded each other with perplexity, as if conscious they were wilfully throwing away their chance of victory. It was customary to meet an enemy in battle with the clang of trumpets, and the shouts of the slogans of the several leaders; but in this instance, King James moved slowly down the front of Branxton hill with his battalions in perfect and regular order, as if intent only upon the desperate purpose before him, without making the slightest noise.

When the Scottish warriors of the left wing were engaged with their opponents, the main division of the English foreward, under Lord Thomas Howard, consisting, as has been said, of his mariners, the strength of Durham, and others of Northumberland, &c., was the next to join battle, near the foot of the hill, with the opposite battalion of Scots who descended before the king, under the Earls of Crawford and Montrose. Here the English considerably outnumbered the foe, and their large bills and axes were brought into terrible collision with the bristling lines of levelled spears handled by the Scottish soldiers. The men of Northumberland and Durham were more accustomed to the pressure of conflict than their enemies, who had been reared chiefly towards the centre of Scotland, and the struggle was most obstinate and bloody. The admiral was ultimately joined by his brother, Sir Edmund Howard, who, after his own men were scattered, and he himself escaped, drew off eastward to the main body of the foreward, and on his way met and killed Sir David Home. Lord Howard, in all probability, was also assisted by the warriors forming his left wing, under Sir Marmaduke Constable and his kinsmen, for our historians mention no body of Scots with whom the aged knight fought, but there can be no doubt that with his brave followers, he performed an active part in the battle, on behalf of his country. So fierce did the struggle continue, that the Scots at length perceived it was with great difficulty they could maintain their ground. Gordon Earl of Huntly, and Lord Home, after dispersing the English right wing, rendered at the time no further assistance to their neighbours, but remained aloof with their troops, as if to keep Lord Dacre in check, guarding the prisoners they had taken, and watching the progress of events in the field before them.

Still farther east, the king's division, being chiefly tall goodly men, and all on foot, with long spears, had entered into battle with the front of the English rearward, commanded by the Earl of Surrey. In descending the hill, they were exposed to a tremendous shower of arrows from the English ranks, but as they generally wore plate armour, only a very few were wounded or slain. During their advance, the spearmen took the precaution to throw off their boots or shoes, and, thus disencumbered, acquitted themselves with the most heroic bravery. When the spears failed, sternly and silently they drew their large and sharp swords, and used them with terrible effect. The shock when both sides met was dreadful, for the Scots advancing fiercely with lines of serried spears, encountered an insurmountable barrier of large bills, wielded by powerful yeomen, which hewed them down, despite their panoply of steel, crashing buckler, helm, breastplate, and mail, with fearful strokes. Lances were cut asunder or struck aside, and blow after blow dashed the spearmen to the ground. Neither did the bravery of the English, nor the defensive armour they wore, sustain them unscathed in the heat of the encounter, for it is recorded that the northern spear was even more fatal than the southern axe and bill. Here was no shifting—no attempt of a single soldier to fly—but onward and forward came rank after rank, performing what man could achieve in terrible and most deadly conflict.

It is said the troops composing the right wing of the Scottish army—the Campbells, Macleans, and other hardy clans, upon the east side of the battle field, under the Earls of Lennox and Argyle—who up to this time kept the hill, on perceiving before them how the central division, and that of Hepburn Earl of Bothwell, with the king and nobility, were engaged with Surrey's main battalion, attempted to succour their countrymen, but were instantly attacked by Sir Edward Stanley's archers of Cheshire and Lancashire, who were the last to enter into battle. The English of this division were numerous; and the bowmen directing their long shafts with unerring force into the masses of Highlanders and Islesmen on the slope above them, the ranks of the mountaineers were broken, and they rushed down, axe and claymore in hand, upon their assailants, in spite of the peremptory orders of their commanders and the earnest entreaties of La Motte, the ambassador of France. But the front of Stanley's force, consisting of a large proportion of bill-men, stood firm, repelling like a rock the ocean fury of the wild northmen. In this onset, as the Scots had few or no spears to defend themselves from cavalry, their confusion was increased by a sudden attack in flank of three companies of men-at-arms, who were

watching an opportunity to assist their countrymen. By this unexpected movement the courageous Highlanders were overthrown, and such as hewed a way through their opponents, dispersed and saved themselves by escaping to the woods below. In accomplishing this successful measure, Stanley, with his brave yeomen, conscious of their superiority, advanced upward against the enemy, killing Argyle, Lennox, and La Motte, and overcoming every opposing obstacle till they reached the higher part of the hill. All this time the deadly strife between the divisions of King James and that of the Earl of Surrey continued unabated, whereupon Stanley, turning his forces round to the right, and advancing downward in a northern direction, passed over the place where the king's battle first commenced, and closed in upon the right flank of the Scots, who still kept their ground with most desperate resolution.

The shadows of evening were now settling quietly down over hill and valley, while the Lord Admiral's men to the south-west were equally successful with those of Stanley in vanquishing their enemies and putting them to flight. The Scottish leaders, Montrose and Crawford, charging on foot to encourage their wavering ranks against superior numbers, fell under the English weapons. Few prisoners were taken, but many men were killed, and the whole were completely discomfited. Having thus cleared the ground before him, the admiral now turned round to the north-east, and, acting as if in concert with Stanley, charged the left side of the Scottish squadron, the warriors of which still held their place around the king. When the latter brave body of heroic men were previously joined by the reserve under the Earl of Bothwell, consisting of the Lothian yeomanry, such was the onslaught, that the standard of Surrey was in imminent danger of being either taken or beaten down. But now the English bill made great slaughter among the nobility of Scotland. It has been mentioned, that when Archibald Earl of Angus quitted the camp he left behind him his two eldest sons in token of his fidelity to the king. These were George Master of Angus and Sir William of Glenbervy, both of whom were slain. Among other instances, Robert Lord Keith and William de Keith, the eldest sons also of William Keith Earl of Marishall, fell in the conflict.[7] The Scots, however, fought like men who

[7] The standard of William Earl of Marishall, which is preserved in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, is almost the only relic of the battle which has escaped the ravages of time, and come down to our own day. The bearer of it was called Black John Skirving of Plewland Hill. Besides the property of that name, which lies in the parish of Humbie, East Lothian, he had four adjoining acres of the land of Keith Marishall, for carrying the standard. Skirving, on perceiving the unhappy termination of the fight for his own people, tore the flag from the staff, and concealed it about his person, before surrendering himself a prisoner to the conquerors. After his release, the relic remained in possession of his family for many generations, until a descend-

had formed the resolution either to win the field, or yield up their lives for the cause of their king. Still the forces under the Earl of Surrey, despite the resolute attempts of Scottish prowess to break through their ranks, kept together, and firmly maintained their footing. So fierce indeed was the encounter, that each party being aroused to vengeance by the "cruel fighting" of their opponents, no quarter was given on either side.

From the time that Lord Home, with his Borderers united with Huntley in repelling the forces of Sir Edmund Howard, he remained on the hill-side with his troops, without again entering into battle. Huntley, on perceiving how much his sovereign required assistance, prepared to render it, and asked Home to accompany him on that duty, when the latter observed, "the man does well this day who saves himself: we fought those who were opposed to us and beat them; let our other companies do the same!" Huntley, however, not discouraged by this reply, attempted to succour the king, and closed again with the southern host, encountering, it is said, Stanley's division[8]; but perceiving the gallant squadron who fought with King James completely surrounded by the English, and seeing his aid to be ineffectual in rescuing his countrymen, he withdrew his followers from the strife, and was one of the few leaders who was fortunate enough to escape. The struggle was now dreadful, for Lord Dacre, observing that Home's Borderers were not likely to give him annoyance, brought round his mounted array of lances, and charged the royal division in the rear, thus closing up to this loyal and devoted band of heroes all chance of escape. Still, it is placed on record by one of our most valuable English chroniclers,[9] that if at this period,

ant, William Skirving, presented it to the noble institution above named. A copy of it is given in Weber's edition of the old Poem of the *Battle of Floddon Field*, Edinburgh, 1808. It is fringed all round, and appears to be of pale silk, blanched by time, with the motto "VERITAS VINCIT," and three stags' heads erased upon it in black. In length it is about four feet four inches, one foot six inches in depth at the staff end, and swallow-tailed, with the opening about ten inches up the standard.

[8] Weber, in his notes to the old Poem already mentioned, says that Huntley's standrd was taken by a leader alluded to in a previous page—Sir William Molyneux, whosehall in Cheshire was long graced by the martial trophy. A drawing of it was made by the heralds in the time of Elizabeth, which is now deposited in the Heralds' College, and a copy is supplied in Weber's volume. That author observes the figures thereon, consisting of a hawk, a stag and hound, with ships, represent Huntley's armorial coat, with the motto, "*Cæme tot*," otherwise "Let all repair to this pennon." There is doubt of such a standard being taken, but the bearings thereon are not those of Huntley. That earl's arms were the same as those of his father, the second earl, *namely*:—Quarterly; first, azure, three boars' heads couped or, for Gordon; second, or, three lions' heads erased gules, for Badenoch; third, or, three crescents within a double tressure flowered and counterflowered gules, for Seaton; fourth, azure, three cinquefoils argent, for Fraser; crest, on a helmet with mantlings, a stag's head.

[9] Hollinshead's History of Scotland, ed. 1585, p. 301.

Home, and the remainder of the king's army, had assailed the English, who were now all collected together, "victory had undoubtedly rested with the Scots." We have thereby proof that the strength of England was almost exhausted, and her warriors knew this so well that afterwards they "confessed themselves bound to God for their safety and deliverance out of that danger." All hope for Scotland being thus thrown away, night advanced as if to extend her dusky mantle over the battle field, in compassion for the appalling waste thereon of human life. The carnage was indeed awful, for the archers continued to pour into the centre their arrowy showers, and the bill-men plied their terrible blades upon the Scots with a force and dexterity that no armour could withstand. According to the vivid lines in *Marmion*:—

"The English shafts in volleys hail'd,
In headlong charge their horse assail'd,
Front, flank, and rear, the squadrons sweep
To break the Scottish circle deep,
That fought around their king.
But yet, though thick the shafts as snow,
Though charging knights like whirlwinds go,
Though bill-men ply the ghastly blow,
Unbroken was the ring;
The stubborn spearmen still made good
Their dark impenetrable wood,
Each stepping where his comrade stood,
The instant that he fell.
No thought was there of dastard flight;
Link'd in the serried phalanx tight,
Groom fought like noble, squire like knight,
As fearlessly and well;
Till utter darkness closed her wing
O'er their thin host and wounded King.
Then skilful Surrey's sage command
Led back from strife his shatter'd bands;
And from the charge they drew,
As mountain-waves from wasted lands
Sweep back to ocean blue.
Then did their loss his foemen know;
Their King, their Lords, their mightiest low,
They melted from the field as snow,
When streams are swoln and south winds blow,
Dissolves in silent dew.
Tweed's echoes heard the ceaseless plash,
While many a broken band,
Disorder'd though her currents dash,
To gain the Scottish land—

To town and tower, to down and dale,
To tell red Flodden's dismal tale,
And raise the universal wail.
Tradition, legend, tune, and song,
Shall many an age that wail prolong:
Still from the sire the son shall hear
Of the sad strife, and carnage drear,
Of Flodden's fatal field,
Where shiver'd was fair Scotland's spear,
And broken was her shield!"

North of Crookham West Field, adjoining a fence, and within a short arrow-flight from the road, on a gentle elevation, stands an upright block of unhewn stone upwards of a yard in diameter, and nearly seven feet high. Some writers say that the Earl of Surrey caused this stone to be set up as a memorial that the battle was won; but there is a probability that it stood in its present position previous to the sixteenth century, and that it had been used as a gathering point to the forces of England,[10] when they were about to cross the march and waste the Scottish Borders. If so, it is not unlikely that Surrey passed it on his way to battle, and to this spot in the twilight, the aged leader, who was still uncertain of the result of the deadly conflict, withdrew the remainder of his wearied forces to remain till the morning. But amid the dead and dying—it being an awful night for thousands—the thieves of Tyndale and Teviotdale, with other Borderers, continued to pursue their avocation with great alacrity, spoiling the slain over the whole field, rifling the contents of the pavilions, and taking away horses in vast numbers wherever they were found. Almost every one spoke evil of Lord Home, who, for the manner in which he had conducted himself towards the

[10] It answered this purpose thirty-two years after the battle of Flodden, and was called "The Standing Stone on Crookham Moor," though in the present day it is named "The King's Stone." In "A Contemporary Account of the Earl of Hertford's Second Expedition to Scotland, and of the Ravages committed by the English Forces in September, 1545," from a manuscript in Trinity College Library, Dublin, edited by David Laing, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., and printed in the Transactions of the Society of which he is so valuable a member, vol. i. pp. 272-3, the following passage occurs:—

"The Erle of Harford departhit from Nywcastell the 5 day of Settember; and all his armey had a day a pointit to mytte att the Stannyngston* vpon Crocke a More,† the 8 day of thes present, & all the caryadge and ordenannce and monyssion: and so the dyd: the said Erle rod from Nywcastell to Anwicke a Satherday, and their he rest Sonday; and a Monday to Cheidyngham;‡ and a Tywsseday to the forsaid Ston on Crackamowre, and past fart'r‖ a myll, and their campet; and a Wenesday past by Warke, and so a longs the water in iij batelles,§ and so past the furd w^t the foreward and the most part of the battaill and their ordenannce."

* Standingstone. † Crookham Moor. ‡ Chillingham.
‖ further. § companies, battalions.

close of the battle, and in bringing off unscathed a very large number of his followers, was regarded as a traitor to his country.

When the light of day came, the Earl of Surrey ascertained that the chief portion of the Scottish army who survived, conscious of their loss, had abandoned the field. But a number of them appearing on a hill, and endangering the safety of Lord Howard, who was near, Sir William Blacknall ordered some of the artillery to be discharged upon them, when they departed. Surrey now gave thanks to God for the success of the arms of England;[11] and calling around him such of his principal leaders as had distinguished themselves, he created forty knights, among whom were his own son, Sir Edmund Howard, Lord Scrope of Upsal, Sir William Percy, Sir Christopher Dacre, Sir Marmaduke Constable the younger, Sir George Darcy, Sir William Gascoigne the younger, Sir John Stanley, Sir Bryan Stapleton, Sir Ralph Bowes of Streatlam, Sir Roger of Fenwick, Sir George Grey of Horton, Sir Thomas Conyers, the Lord Ogle, and the Lord Lumley. Then he appointed Sir Philip Tylney, the company of the Admiral, the retinue of Lord Scrope of Bolton, the Lord Latimer, Sir Marmaduke Constable, Sir William Percy, Sir Nicholas Appleyard, and their companies, to keep the field, that the artillery of Scotland might be preserved, and the whole number of pieces were conveyed, by Lord Dacre's assistance, to the castle of Etal. An account of the battle was then written in French, either by Lord Thomas Howard, or probably under his directions, and sent to the King of England. The chief men who contributed to earn the victory, now prepared to return home. Surrey had received instructions from his royal master to act only on the defensive against Scotland, but he had another cause for not wounding her deeper by more effusion of blood. No arrangement had been made for victualling his forces, and besides, they were so reduced as to be incapable of bestowing upon her any great

[11] For his good fortune in gaining the victory, Surrey was created Duke of Norfolk on the 1st Feb. 1514. On the bend which appeared in the Howard arms was added an augmentation of the upper part of a red lion, depicted in the same way as that in the arms of Scotland, and pierced through the mouth with an arrow. Hollinshead mentions also, that after the fight at Flodden, the earl gave to his servants the cognizance of the white lion (descended to him from the Mowbrays) standing over the red lion of Scotland, and tearing it with his paws. This they were to wear on their left arms. He died in 1524. His son and heir, Lord Thomas the Admiral, succeeded him in the earldom of Surrey, and on Norfolk's decease, he came also to the dukedom. Towards the close of his days he was unfortunate, for being attainted in 1546, and condemned to suffer death, his life was saved by Henry VIII. dying on the night previous to the time appointed for his execution. He was restored again to his honours in 1553, but died in the following year. His son and heir, Henry Howard Earl of Surrey, the poet—a gentle branch from such an austere stock—was also attainted and beheaded in 1547. The son and heir, again, of the poet, was restored in blood and honours in 1553, and succeeded to his grandfather's dignities in 1554, but was also attainted and beheaded in 1572, when his honours were forfeited.

additional amount of punishment. A great many horses were secured, and on searching the field, large quantities of provisions, consisting of wine, ale, beef, mutton, cheese, &c., were found in the Scottish camp.

Among the slain, on the side of Scotland, was a natural son of King James, an amiable young man, who was Archbishop of St. Andrews, with two bishops, two abbots, one dean, thirteen earls, fifteen lords and chiefs of clans, with La Motte the French Ambassador, who at the time was secretary to the King. The gentry who fell were numerous; for almost every family in the kingdom mourned the loss of one or two of its members, while in some instances the father and every son he had were killed.[12] The common people who were slain might number about eight thousand; but of this we have no positive proof, for all the bodies, both English and Scots, were entirely stripped of their apparel, and save for the beard, which the latter usually wore, and which was also, we may suppose, worn by many of the English people, those of one nation might readily be taken for those of another. The English might have upwards of five thousand killed, for the Scots fought with the utmost desperation even to the last, and it is generally admitted that the loss was heavy; but the honour of the victory made it be less felt, and the number slain, with few exceptions, consisted of the middle and lower classes. This proves most conclusively that those of the higher ranks had not exposed themselves much to the Scottish axe or spear, and that though the weather had been most unfavourable for the use of the long bow, yet the archers, the artillerymen, and especially the bill-men, had performed no mean part in securing the triumph of England.

The probability is, that King James lost his life on the battle field,[13] only it may be allowed us to examine the evidence given by our chroniclers in support of that event. Nearly all agree that when he saw his standard-bearer, Sir Adam Forman, fall, disdaining captivity, he pressed forward into the enemy's lines and was slain. On the day after the battle Lord Dacre discovered his body, surrounded by those of the nobility and others who had fallen near him, at about a spear's length from where the Earl of Surrey had stood. Several deadly wounds were inflicted thereon, especially one by an arrow, and another

[12] It is said that Andrew Pitcairn of Pitcairn, with seven sons, went to the battle, where they were all slain. One son, either born afterwards, or a child at the time, continued the family. The widow and boy, owing to the severity of the times, were turned out of possession of the inheritance, but James V. granted a charter, restoring her to her jointure, and the heir to his estate, mentioning that Pitcairn and seven sons fell at Flodden, fighting valiantly for his royal father.

[13] He left an infant son below two years of age, and from this scion of royalty we trace the descent of our own illustrious Queen.

by a bill which had opened the neck to the middle, while the left hand was almost cut off in two places. Surrey, they say, sent the Queen of England a piece of the coat-armour of the king; again, the body was recognised at Berwick by Sir William Scott, Chancellor of Scotland, and Sir John Forman, the King's sergeant-porter, both of whom were taken prisoners. In opposition to these statements it may be observed, that several officers, by the king's command, were arrayed similar to himself, and Lord Elphinston resembled him in personal appearance very much; that it would be difficult to prove the body was found within a spear's length from the Earl of Surrey, when the latter could not possibly be stationary on the field; that Lord Dacre may have been mistaken, and the prisoners, apart from conviction, might have a motive for what they said; and also, that though a dispensation from the Pope was obtained for the burial of King James in consecrated ground, that service was never performed,[14] shewing as if doubts had arisen at head-quarters of the body being that of the King. Moreover, from a State paper, dated June 23, 1525, we learn that the Queen, who wished to be divorced from the Earl of Angus, her second husband, observed, "she was married to the said earl, the King of Scots her husband being alive, and that same King was living three years after the field of Flodden." The iron chain which the King is said to have constantly worn, in remorse for his share in the death of his father, could not be produced by the English. In the College of Arms at London are deposited the sword and dagger which are said to have belonged to him, having been gifted to that institution by the Earl of Surrey himself. Are they the genuine weapons of James IV. of Scotland, and can undoubted proof of such a present be established?[15]

[14] Stowe's own words on this historical episode, are valuable. They are supplied from his *Survey of London*, 1618, p. 539.

"After the battle the bodie of the said king, being found, was closed in lead, and conveyed from thence to London, and to the monasterie of Sheyne, in Surry, where it remained for a time, in what order I am not certaine; but, since the dissolution of that house, in the reign of Edward VI., Henry Gray, Duke of Norfolke, being lodged, and keeping house there, I have been shewed the same bodie, so lapped in lead, close to the head and bodie, throwne into a waste room, amongst the old timber, lead, and other rubble. Since the which time, workmen there, for their foolish pleasure, hewed off his head; and Lancelot Young, master glazier to the Queen Elizabeth, feeling a sweet savour to come from thence, and seeing the same dried from all moisture, and yet the form remaining, with haire of the head, and beard red, brought it to London, to his house in Wood-street, where, for a time, he kept it, for its sweetness, but in the end, caused the sexton of that church (St Michael's, Wood-street) to bury it amongst other bones taken out of their charnel."

[15] Many of the people of Scotland would not believe the king was slain, but deemed he escaped, and that he was gone on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, to atone for the part he took in the death of his father, and his own errors. Others insisted that he was seen alive, near Kelso, on the close of the day of battle, and a whisper prevailed

This was called the Battle of Flodden by the Scots, from their camp being a few days on that prominent position, and that of Branxton moor by the English, from having been fought to the south, near that village. As no memorial has been set up to mark the battle field, it seems desirable to glance over such evidence on this subject, as may enable us to ascertain the locality with some approximation to truth. By the tent shewn on Speed's Map of Northumberland, published in 1610, also by that of Blaeu, in 1646, who copied the former, and by several modern plans of the battle, we would suppose it had been stricken near to the farm-stead of Mardon. But by a most careful perusal of several original accounts of the battle by Hall and other early writers,[16] also by recent discoveries, and likewise by personal examination of the ground, ample authority exists for saying the general onslaught must have been made considerably to the west of that place. Our best historians agree that the king, making downward, encountered the English near the foot of the hill called Branxton. In the churchyard of that village, under the footpath, large quantites of bones, including those of horses, were discovered about a foot below the surface. On the low marshy ground near the source of Pallinsburn, a cannon ball of lead, weighing above thirteen pounds was found, and another of the same material was dug up west of Branxton hill. One of iron was also ploughed up near the

that he was murdered by a servant of the Lord Home On the popular impression of this circumstance, I am indebted to my friend Mr. William Brockie, of South Shields, for the following particulars:—

"THE KING'S GRAVE.—A correspondent of the *Kelso Chronicle*, referring, in 1851, to a tradition he had heard his father and other aged people about Sprouston tell, in his youth, of a skeleton, found in the Berry Moss, near Kelso, with a gold chain about it, with links corresponding in number to the years of King James IV.'s age, mentions also a circumstance which he says had been related to him, about forty years before, by a very respectable farmer who lived in the immediate vicinity of Hume Castle. He goes on to say:—'Stitchell and Hume are conjoined parishes. The church of the latter is in ruins, but the churchyard still remains, and is still used as a place of interment. One day, when passing, my informant pointed to a small mound, which was called the King's Grave, or that of some distinguished person. It was customary, he said, from time immemorial, when a funeral entered the churchyard, to walk in procession round this grave, and return to the spot where the dead was to be buried, in whatever part of the churchyard that might be. One cold and stormy winter day, the procession was objected to by some of the parties in attendance, and from that time the practice was discontinued.' 'Might not,' he asks, 'the skeleton found in the Berry Moss, have been interred there, and hence the origin of this mark of reverence to the grave of royalty?'"

[16] Lingard, in his *History*, fifth edition, 1849, iv. 371, enumerates four contemporary and detailed accounts of the battle. "One is by Hall, xlii.; a second equally minute but more elegant, by Giovio, the Italian Historian, l. xxi. f. 102; a third, formerly alluded to, by Lord Thomas Howard, preserved in the Heralds' Office, and published in Pinkerton's History, ii. App. 456; and a fourth printed by Galt, in the Appendix to his *Life of Wolsey*, p. 1." The last is the tract of four leaves mentioned in a preceding page. A letter from Queen Catherine to King Henry VIII., written after the battle, is printed in Ellis's *Letters*, First Series, i., 88.

church, and the sizes of all correspond to what we may conceive the calibre of guns would be in the early part of the sixteenth century. A French gold coin, dated about 1530, was turned up a few years ago on the undulating ground west of Branxton, lost probably by some pilgrim of France visiting the place where so much of Scotland's blood was shed by way of serving that kingdom. But the most convincing proof of the battle having been fought there, is that, about forty years ago, Mr. Andrew Rankin, a churchwarden of the parish, while in the act of cutting a drain through some mossy ground, near the western base of Branxton hill, opened a large pit of human bones at nearly three and a half feet below the surface. The direction of the drain lay from east to west, and the pit was several yards wide, but how far it extended from north to south, Mr. Rankin neglected to ascertain. Keeping these several matters in view, the probability is, that King James occupied, with the five divisions of his army, the whole northern front of the hill, his left wing extending to a small ravine, which descends to the north-west, and his right division reaching east of the road which leads from Branxton over the ridge to Flodden. Pallinsburn, at that time, almost from its source down to near Crookham, flowed through a bog or morass, and from the rain which fell previous to the battle, this would likely be under water; consequently, the chief portion of the army of England, in all probability, passed the valley near the source of that brook. The remainder might pass lower down, either by what was called "Branx Brig,"[17] a little to the north of Mardon, or near to Crookham, in which case they would join their countrymen at Branxton, which was formerly much larger than it is at present. Again, during the two or three hours when the battle was fought, a large number of horses, many tents and much baggage remained probably in and about the village. At a short distance to the south-west is a hill of moderate dimensions, a desirable spot for Surrey to occupy, which in former times may have been resorted to in the summer evenings by the piper of the place, who likely had his croft there; and if by the faint echo of some old tradition we could learn that the spot was once known as "Pipard Hill," such intelligence might enable the modern pilgrim to identify the spot where Scotland's King, after nobly bearing himself, weapon in hand, against opposing hosts, was slain. From this elevation, lines ranging to the east and the south-west, taking in the whole lower parts of Branxton hill, will circumscribe nearly the

[17] If this bridge was erected at the period when the battle was fought, it may have been that which the chief gunner of Scotland wished to destroy, as the English were passing over it, but was prevented by the king. Our historians who mention the incident—only they are evidently in error—say it was the bridge over Till.

ground whereon the battle was fought. An attempt by a fugitive body of Scots, either to strike a last blow upon the enemy, or to avail themselves of horses or spoil, in the open churchyard, where they would meet with opposition, will account for the quantity of bones found there. Other deposits of similar kind may yet be discovered, which will tend to fix the limits of the contest more accurately; but we may be assured that many who fell at no great distance from Branxton would likewise obtain Christian burial in its hallowed churchyard.

This was the greatest, the last, and the most decisive battle ever stricken on the Borders. England, though her loss was great, obtained thereby an ascendancy over her rival which stayed the contention of arms, and evinced she would not submit to be injured with impunity. To Scotland it was a most stunning and dreadful blow. The first of her clergy, nobility, and gentry, with the very best of her warriors, all yielded up their lives for the martial display and chivalric bearing of their gallant and beloved King. When the sad tidings reached city, town, and village, shrieks and outpourings of female anguish from palace, hall, bower, and cottage, were heard in every direction. Wives were made widows—mothers lost their sons—sisters were left brotherless—maids were bereaved of their lovers—and grief preying upon affectionate and susceptible hearts, would bring many a fair face to the grave, ere the following spring clothed the earth with beauty. It was not till nearly two succeeding generations passed away that Scotland regained her wonted cheerfulness; and even a century afterwards, when the direct descendant of the monarch, who lost all at Flodden, occupied the English throne, the story of that field—woeful as "The Dead March" in *Saul*—was listened to with regret. Later still, the mournful theme was taken up by her national bards, who instinctively tuned their harps to the tone of popular feeling; and the strains they have sung of that great disaster, accompanied by Tradition's wild but welcome tongue, will continue to be prized, while tenderness and heroic energy find an echo in the bosoms of her people.

Christmas Eve, 1848.

APPENDIX.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

When the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne met at Flodden Field, on Tuesday the 27th July, 1858, they received much attention from the Rev. Robert Jones of Branxton, to whom their best thanks were subsequently awarded. At that meeting it was suggested that a stone ought to be set up near the spot where Mr. Rankin discovered the pit of bones, and to Mr. Jones the Society are obliged for having respectfully made known the circumstance to John Collingwood, Esq., the proprietor of the ground, who in the most liberal manner undertook to erect, at his own expense, a memorial on the spot, to commemorate the solitary grave of so many of the Flodden heroes. To Mr. Jones also the writer is indebted for an original draught of the map, whence that which accompanies the foregoing paper has been reduced and engraved. By residing almost upon the battle field, and being well acquainted with the whole district, Mr. Jones has likewise been enabled to collect information from the aged people in the neighbourhood respecting the battle, and the probable way through which the English army advanced to the field, which he freely communicated, and of which some use has been made in the previous paper. On this subject, or any other connected with the history of the battle, as the writer has no theory to support, and no other aim than the elucidation of truth, he considers it an act of justice to his readers to lay before them the observations of that gentleman at length, reserving to himself the exercise of his own deliberate judgment. All the light which can be thrown upon a celebrated event in history is acceptable; hence the communication forms an appropriate accompaniment to what has been already related.

"Branxton Vicarage, 6th Nov. 1858.

"My Dear Sir,—Since sending you a plan of the Battle Field of Flodden, I have made all the research I possibly could for information respecting the advance of Surrey's army, after crossing the Till at Twizel Bridge and Heaton Ford. I have inspected the ground he would have to march over, and have made all the enquiry I could from the oldest people in my parish, who have resided therein from infancy, and whose ancestors for generations past, have been brought up in the immediate neighbourhood of Flodden Field. The result of this research and enquiry, I now feel great pleasure in submitting for your perusal, and I trust approval, being fully persuaded that any information I could give on the subject you are at present so laudably engaged in, will be acceptably and friendly received.

"Mr. Rankin, my churchwarden, the old man you saw when the Newcastle Antiquarian Society visited the field last summer, has given me some very important information, and which may elucidate a very important fact relative to the approach to Branxton of one part of Surrey's army, which crossed the Ford at Heaton Mill. I have in my map traced the small burn called Pallinsburn, situated to the north of my parish, which runs to the south of Crookham, and empties itself into the Till a little below that village. I am firmly persuaded that the source of this burn, at the time of the battle, took its rise from a very swampy part of land, which is called the bog, and which extended from the road leading to Coldstream to the foot of the hill, by the Blue Bell, a distance of rather more than a mile. This bog was impassable in many parts when I first came to reside in the parish, and even at this time, after a heavy continued fall of rain, and a rapid thaw of snow, is covered with water for a considerable distance on the eastern end: but within these eight or ten years it has been thoroughly drained, and now bears in all parts, and produces luxuriant grass. There can be no doubt from the formation of the elevated ground on either side of the bog, and, also at the two ends, that the whole of this land would be under water when the battle was fought, and for years after. In many places it is more than two hundred yards in breadth, but near the centre there is a slight elevation extending southward, which would naturally divide the bog of water into two parts. At this place, in Mr. Rankin's young days, there was a small narrow rude bridge, which went by the name of 'Branx Brig,' and which was always pointed out by the old people as the bridge over which part of the English army crossed when marching to Flodden Field.

"Now fill this tract of low land with water, and you have a substantial reason for part of the army deviating to the left, and crossing the burn at Sandy Ford, and on no other supposition, can a reason be given, why they should have departed from their direct line of march, unless the low ground to the south-east of the Blue Bell was impassable from its vicinity to the bog, which would, from the constant flow of water, render it completely unfit for the transit of a large body of men and horse, hastening with all possible speed to take up their position on Windylaw, and about the village of Branxton.

* * * * * * *

"Opposite the formidable array of England's force, stood the Scottish army on the ridge of Branxton, waiting the approach of Surrey's army to commence the dreadful onslaught. To the extreme left, on the sloping part of Branxton Hill, looking towards Wark Castle, Home Castle, and Coldstream, were drawn up the wild and undisciplined Highlanders and stout Borderers under Huntley and Lord Home: to the right of these, looking north, those troops under Crawford and Montrose: a little further east the chivalric king, with many of his nobles, and best and bravest blood of Scotland; on his right, on the gentle slope of the eastern end of Branxton Ridge, was the right wing, under Lennox and Argyle, and the reserve, under Bothwell, a little to the south-east of the king's troops. In this position stood the contending armies, opposite each other, before the battle began—one elevated considerably above his opponent, and commanding one of the most splendid views in the country, looking over the greater part of Berwickshire and Roxburghshire, and even extending beyond the hilly county of Selkirkshire. With this beautiful landscape before them to the far west and north-west, and the English army below them, preparing for the bloody fray that was on the eve of commencement, thousands of the brave men of Scotland, together with their beloved king, viewed for the last time the country that gave them birth, and which was shortly to weep and mourn over the death of so many of her hardy and heroic sons.

"The commanding position occupied by the Scotch army on the heights of Branxton, gave them great advantage over that of their enemy; and although King James is blamed for abandoning his camp on Flodden Hill, yet, he must be considered by all who walk over the ground, and think for themselves, as having displayed good generalship in making choice of such a position, especially when he knew that Surrey was marching his army from Barmoor Common, with the determined intention of cutting him off from Scotland, by forcing him to battle, or with the view of plundering his kingdom.

"That part of Surrey's army which crossed the bridge at Twizel, and which was

composed of the greater number of his troops, together with the heavy artillery, would, we may suppose, march directly on the road leading to Cornhill, and then turn on the Wooler road, instead of crossing by New Heaton to make a junction with that part which had forded the Till at Heaton Mill. The distance from Twizel Bridge to Branxton Church, by Cornhill, would be little more than five miles, and the road would be firm and passable. Three hundred years ago, the land by New Heaton would in some places be a mere rushy, swampy morass, besides being in many parts rough and uneven. This would tend greatly to retard rather than facilitate the hurried march of eighteen or twenty thousand men, encumbered with baggage and ammunition. To make good this supposition, we must carry our thoughts back to Sept. 9th, 1513, and not plan the battle field, and the march of thirty thousand men, as having taken place a few years since. Indeed, it will require no very formidable stretch of research to find out what lands have been made dry, what bogs and swamps have been drained off, within the memory of this present generation.

"Allowing these reasons to be not only feasible but probable, I place the junction of the two divisions that crossed the Till, at Twizel, and Heaton, as having taken place at Branxton, for the pool of water covering the bog, through which the small stream of Pallinsburn now runs, would be passed by the division that had crossed the bridge at Twisel on the west end, much about the same time as the troops which had passed the Heaton Ford, would be tramping over Branx Brig and Sandy Ford on the east end. The troops passing the west end would march immediately over the rising ground at this place, and on the low ground by Branxton Buildings, and form their positions under their different commanders a little to the south of the village, which I believe in those days extended considerably to the east and west of the church. A cannon ball weighing 13½lbs, now in the possession of Watson Askew, Esq., Pallinsburn House, was found a few years since when draining the upper or west end of the bog. May not this shot have been fired, when the right division was marching in the direction of Branxton, immediately after leaving the Wooler Road? Another ball in the possession of John Collingwood, Esq., Cornhill House, was dug up since my residence in the parish, near to the spot where such a number of bones were found about forty years ago by Mr. Rankin, when draining that part of the land, close to the ground taken up by the right wing under Ed. Howard. Both these balls are lead. I have an iron ball in my possession picked up by a man ploughing below the hill, nearly opposite the church. I may also mention here, that when widening the path to the church door, about nine years ago, we came on a deposit of bones close to the surface. I counted several sculls within the space of a yard square heaped, one on another. I can give no reason for these bones being found in such a position, unless we consider them as the remains of some of the men who fell in the village, and about the church, when the battle was fought, hurriedly collected together and buried in a hole, dug for that purpose, that they might rest in consecrated ground. My churchyard is exceedingly dry.

"I apologize for this short digression, and shall now proceed with my narrative. When marching from Cornhill the van guard under Lord Thos. Howard, his brother, and Sir Mar. Constable, which I will now call the right division, would first come in view of the Scotch army on the heights of Branxton Hill, a little more then a mile from Cornhill, on the Coldstream and Wooler road: the left division or rear guard under the command of the Earl of Surrey, and Sir Edw. Stanley, which crossed at Heaton Ford, would be in full ken of the Scotch force a short time before passing 'Branx Brig' and Sandy Ford; which, as I have mentioned before, lies a little to the south-east of Crookham.

"What I want, is to assign good and solid grounds for the proposition I now advance. I am well aware that no mention is made of these circumstances by any historian; but, I am also convinced that no one possitively contradicts them. After the English army had passed the bridge at Twizel, and the ford at Heaton, we are left to draw our own conclusions of the route each division took on its march to Flodden, with the exception of that part of the army which crossed at Sandy Ford. Surrey, we know from history, was most anxious to meet the king in battle, and there is not the least doubt but that he dreaded, with trembling and suspicious fear, his retreat over the Tweed into Scotland. Would not these reasons shew sufficient cause for the van guard to have orders to march as close as possible to the banks of the

Tweed, especially as we know, that in those days, and for a long period afterwards, that there were two fords by Coldstream, one at the mouth of the Leet, mentioned in *Marmion*, and through which General Monk passed his army on his march to London, soon after Cromwell's death, the other a little below Lennel. He knew that King James occupied the ground on Flodden Hill on the 8th Sept., the day previous to the battle, but during his march from Barmoor, where he encamped for that night, he was quite uncertain whether the Scotch army might not have been in full retreat for Scotland across these fords. Had this been the case, he would by marching the right division this way, have had a good opportunity of cutting off the rear, if not the whole of the Scotch army, and instead of fighting the king on Flodden Field, he would have fought him at Cornhill, or somewhere near that neighbourhood. Only let us suppose that these were Surrey's thoughts, and we have a good reason for his crossing the ford at Heaton, viz., that he might, by a quick march, come in sight of the camp at Flodden, and ascertain whether the king was there or not. Had the latter been the case, he could have pursued him along the road to Coldstream, and joined the van guard without much loss of time, or had King James's army been retreating to Scotland, he might have been hemmed in between these two divisions, and a slaughter equal, if not greater, then that on Flodden Field, have taken place.

"In Pitscottie's account of the battle of Flodden, published in 1728, we have no mention made of Sandy Ford, or in what manner the two divisions marched after passing the Till. In Hall's account of the battle, published in 1548, Sandy Ford is certainly spoken of 'as a small brook about a man's step over,' but he does not mention the junction of the two armies as having taken place before coming on the field of battle. In one place, he says 'wherefore the said king causing his tents to be removed to another hill in great haste,' which must have meant Branxton Hill. The position which he took up on this hill, shews I think, that he was expecting those forces that had crossed the bridge at Twizel to march on Flodden by way of Cornhill, and to pass by the west end of Pallinsburn bog.

"In a note appended to Hall's account of the battle, it is mentioned:—'The English army, while on the march, formed two large bodies, the foreward and the rear, commanded by the Lord Admiral and his father. Each division had two wings, viz., the Lord Admiral, on the right Sir Edmund Howard, and on his left Sir Marmaduke Constable: the Earl of Surrey, on the right Lord Dacre, and on the left Sir Edward Stanley. The attack seems to have been led on in the same order; though after the Lord Admiral requested his father's aid, the rear advanced, and left the foreward under the Lord Admiral to the right. Lord Dacre, however, kept his situation, which during the march was immediately behind Sir Ed. Howard; whence he and, under his orders, Bastard Heron, were enabled to relieve Sir Edmund when discomfitted by Home. We are not so clear where Sir Marmaduke Constable fought, and whether his corps was joined to that of the admiral, or of Sir Edward Stanley. The former is more probable; though as his body formed, during the march, as it were the van of Sir Edward, the latter supposition is by no means impossible. It was principally the difference between the order of marching, and that of the battle, which has confused the historians so much.'

"Now from this note, but more in particular from the nature and condition of the ground at the time of the battle, I assume that the two divisions, under their respective commanders, after passing the Till, kept entirely separate till they had formed in position to the south of the village of Branxton. King James had been warned of Surrey's having passed the bridge at Twizel, and he hastened to occupy the ridge of Branxton Hill, in the full expectation, we may presume, of seeing the English advance on him by that route, which would cut him off from his own country.[18] The

[18] Sir Walter Scott, in his *Marmion*, when describing the pass of the English army over the bridge at Twizel, seems to be of this opinion, for he could scarcely use the words he does, if the foreward had marched by Heaton, instead of the banks of the Tweed. In the former case, the king would have been between Surrey and Scotland, for Branxton Hill is considerably nearer the Tweed than Sandy Ford, and the king, had he wished to escape, might have done so without much peril.

"And why stands Scotland idly now,
Dark Flodden! on thy airy brow,

different accounts are most perplexing and contradictory in many of their details, and it requires us to carry back our thoughts to the olden days of the beginning of the sixteenth century, and to judge for ourselves through what part of the country the different divisions marched after crossing the Till.

"Believe me, to remain, yours very sincerely,

R. JONES.

"To MR. ROBERT WHITE, &c."

Mr. Jones adds the following in a note, dated 16th November, 1858:—

"I have, since receiving your last letter, with the very kind remarks you have made, inquired more particularly respecting the Sandy Ford near Crookham. This ford is across the Till, and is considered, even at this day, quite good. Here it is where the boys bathe; the bottom is sand and gravel, the water is only about three feet deep, and not even this in summer. A little to the north of Etal Castle is *Watch-law*, said to be the place where Surrey's army encamped for the night; no doubt it has taken its name from that circumstance, as it is close to Barmoor Common. May not part of the army have crossed at this ford, which still retains the name, and the small burn, 'over which a man could step,' mentioned in history, be fabulous, unless the small stream of Pallinsburn, at its junction with the Till at this place, went by the same name. The cottages built here are called the Sandy Ford Cottages. This supposition would strengthen if not verify the Sandy Ford mentioned by Hall in his account of the battle."

With all deference to the opinions of Mr. Jones, the writer cannot assent to his view, wherein he supposes the foreward of the English army, under the Admiral, after crossing Twysel bridge, would advance forward on the road leading to Cornhill. It is more likely that the van proceeded up the western bank of the Till towards Heton, till Lord Howard came within view of the rearward, and then, assisted by sure guides, he led his battalions on in the most direct way to Branxton hill. He would elude morasses or other obstacles as well as he could, and we may be certain there were difficulties to overcome, for he took full five hours in going over as many miles. His father, we may presume, was behind him, and within reach, whatever might occur, so that it is not improbable but a part of Stanley's division might advance on the road towards Crookham, and approach the field by that quarter. Moreover, we are told the English were constantly in view of the camp at Flodden, till the smoke from that place hid the armies from each other; and again, we may be assured, it was not till the Admiral and Surrey, his father, bent their course full upon Branxton hill, that King James resolved to quit his position and occupy the latter place.

* * * * * * * * *

The poem of *Marmion* has drawn many a pilgrim to Flodden, who was altogether uncertain of the place where the battle was fought, and

Since England gains the pass the while,
And struggles through the deep defile?
What checks the fiery soul of James?
Why sits that champion of the dames
Inactive on his steed,
And sees, between him and his land,
Between him and Tweed's southern strand
His host Lord Surrey lead?"

the writer has cause to believe that the actual locality was unknown even to Sir Walter Scott himself. Visitors, however, may seek in vain for the Cross of Stone upon the hillock, and the inscribed Well of Sybil Grey, so associated with the death of the chief personage in that romantic tale. Besides, when the armies met, the smoke from the deserted camp had vanished, and, except that caused by the artillery, the air was clear; neither was dust, however fierce the turmoil might be, likely to arise on a wild moor soaked with rain. But a poet, in the legitimate exercise of his power, makes perfect what is defective; and it was as necessary to Scott's purpose that he presented a picture to his reader's mind—a conflict amid "clouds of smoke and dust," with the west wind breathing upon it, as to garnish the story with the Cross and Well. The attempt, as may be supposed, was eminently successful, for the author, inspired as he was, threw over the scene the effulgent and imperishable light of his genius. No such attraction can be presented by the sober relater of truth; yet to many the preceding paper will not be without its value. Recalling what he was told, when a child, of the dreadful encounter, and warmed like others by the poet's vivid description of it, the writer has carefully sifted conflicting accounts, separating refuse from the pure grain, whereby he might ascertain with some degree of accuracy the whole circumstances of the battle, and be enabled with his readers to gaze upon the ground where it was fought, and think of the brave endurance, the devoted fidelity, the stern determination, and the terrible energies which were once called forth on that place of renown.

Errata.

Page 12, line 6, *dele* "on the evening before the battle."

FOUR CHAPTERS

FROM THE

History of Alnmouth.

BY WILLIAM DICKSON,

OF ALNMOUTH, F.S.A.

FOR THE PERUSAL OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AT NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, AT THE AUGUST MEETING FOR 1852.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE:
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Gough Add.s Northumberland
4.° 20.

The History of Alnmouth.

CHAPTER I.

THE GENERAL SITUATION AND ASPECT.

"Who hung the lands with green, the sky with blue?
Who made the plains on which our cities grew;
And all this prosperous island what it is,
And asked but gratitude, as his just due!—
The giver, God—claiming the beggar's part,
And asking in return, a humble, thankful heart."

THE Manor, Township, and Chapelry of Alnmouth are co-extensive with each other, and consist of one of those ancient divisions into which this kingdom was separated by King Alfred in the ninth century.

This place forms one of the chapelries of the original parish of Lesbury, in the south division of Bamburgh Ward. It is in the northern division of Northumberland, and five miles and a half, by the turnpike road, to the south-east of Alnwick.

For the purposes of the Poor Laws, it forms part of the Alnwick Union; and for the convenience of Petty and Special Sessions, it has been placed in the east division of Coquetdale Ward. The township contains 480 inhabitants, which, in the summer season, are very much increased by persons visiting it for sea-bathing and health.

It is a seaport or creek, under the controul of the officers of Her Majesty's Customs of the port of Berwick-upon-Tweed.

The town is of ancient standing in the county, and is noticed in the records of the realm as far as they go back. It is built upon the north bank of the river Alne, where that river enters the sea, and hence arises its name of "*Alnmouth.*"

There is very little to be found relating to this township in the printed histories of the county, and nearly the whole of what is now given is new matter, taken from the most authentic sources.

This place has become a much more prominent object since the opening of the York, Newcastle, and Berwick Railway. In coming from the south, after leaving the Buston cutting, especially in a fine summer afternoon, it breaks all at once upon the traveller, charming the eye with the freshness of the sea, and the beauty and inequalities of the coast. The harbour, with a few ships—the Church Hill—the sands—the town itself—the grassy banks—and the river, all pass before the eye in rapid succession, as the train moves on to the north. It is a place capable of great improvement, and probably may, at some future day, be more resorted to than it is at present; for, however beautiful it looks in the distance, from the rail, when the traveller enters the town, he finds it only a badly

paved and rather a dirty village. Want of trade and the poverty of the inhabitants, prevent it from rising above this scale, and in this state it will remain until the public requirements force on future improvements.

In the summer season, the village is filled with the inhabitants of Alnwick and the district, who resort to it for sea-bathing. The sands are beautifully firm—the adjoining grassy links, smooth as a velvet carpet, are, in the sunshine of a hot summer's day, most enjoyable. Nature has done all—man nothing: there are no baths, nor suitable inns, nor lodging houses, fit to be called such—streets dirty, and never cleaned, nor properly repaired—ancient habits anything but commendable. In the course of time, comforts may be added, as sanitary reforms progress.

On the Watch Hill, to the north of the town, a cool breeze is always to be secured, as well as an extensive and interesting prospect, both by sea and by land: to the south, is the Church Hill, where stood St. John's ancient cruciform structure; Warkworth Castle and Church spire; Amble, with its ships, breakwater, and colliery; Coquet Island, and the Light House; Buston House; Shortridge House; as well as a lengthened prospect over the flat lands by the sea-shore:—to the west is Alnwick Church and Column, Swansfield and Heckley Houses, and many well known eminences—while to the north, the shore stretches towards Boulmer, Longhoughton, and Howick:—on the east, the mighty waters, with their immeasureable flat surface; the constant passage of steamboats and vessels thereon, all engaged in the various pursuits of commerce, form a never-failing source of attraction and amusement to visitors.

The river Alne, previous to 1806, passed into the sea on the south side of the Church Hill. In that year it forced its way through a field called the Cheese Hill, belonging to the Duke of Northumberland, leaving the Church Hill, as it now is, at high-water, an island, and on the south side of the river.

The History of Alnmouth.

CHAPTER II.

THE MANOR OF ALNMOUTH, AND ITS OWNERS.

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await, alike, the inevitable hour:
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."—*Gray.*

In the days of our Saxon ancestors, this manor was one of the members of the great barony of Alnwick, which then belonged to the powerful family of Tyson.

Gilbert Tyson married Beatrix, a Norman, and relative of William the Conqueror, and had issue by her, two sons, William and Richard. The latter was the founder of Guisborough Abbey, where he was interred. The former was lord of the borough of Alnmouth; he was, during his father's life-time, slain fighting with king Harold, at the Battle of Hastings, in 1066; he married the daughter of Gilbert de

Gaunt, earl of Lincoln, and had issue one daughter only, called Alda. William the Conqueror gave her in marriage to one of his Norman fol-

I. lowers, called Ivo de Vesci. This ancient baron was a Norman chieftain of great renown, and he thus, in her right, became possessed of her vast possessions, including, amongst others, *the manor or borough of Alnmouth.*

II. They had issue only one daughter, Beatrix, who wedded Eustace Fitz John, lord of Knaresborough ; she was his second wife. In the 5th of king Stephen, he was one of the justices itinerant; and founded, in 1147, the Abbey at Alnwick. He was lord of *Alnmouth*, and was slain in the year 1156.

III. He had by his second wife one son only, William de Vesci, who married Berga, daughter of Robert Stuteville, and died 31 Hen. II. By her he had issue two daughters and one son, his successor, owner of *Alnmouth*, viz. :—

IV. Eustace de Vesci, *lord of Alnmouth*, married Margery, daughter of William king of Scotland ; and, after a long and eventful life, he died from a wound by an arrow, at the siege of Barnardcastle, about 1216. He left one son—

V. William de Vesci, also *lord of Alnmouth*, who married Isabell, daughter of the earl of Salisbury, but she had no issue. He afterwards married Agnes, daughter of William de Ferrers, earl of Derby, by whom he had issue two sons, John lord Vesci, and William lord Vesci. He died 37 Hen. III (1253), leaving Agnes his wife. His heir was—

VI. John de Vesci, also *lord of Alnmouth.* He married Isabel de Beaumont, but had no issue. He was a baron by writ of summons. Died 1289. His brother—

VII. William lord Vesci, *lord of Alnmouth*, succeeded him. He married Isabella, daughter of Robert Perrington, and by her had issue one son, John, who died in his father's life-time, without issue. This William was a competitor for the crown of Scotland, but his title was not sufficient to establish his right. He died 25 Edw. I. leaving no legitimate issue ; and thus ended the connection of the family of Vesci with the manor of Alnmouth. Isabel, his widow, held Alnmouth as her dower, A.D. 1309, amongst other lands.

We now come to the period when this borough came into the possession of the great baronial family of Percy.

THE MANOR OF ALNMOUTH, AND ITS OWNERS.

I. In the 3rd Edw. II. (19 Nov. 1309), Anthony Becke, bishop of Durham, and patriarch of Jerusalem, granted and sold to Henry lord Percy, the barony of Alnwick, which included, among other members, *the manor of Alnmouth*, which the bishop had by grant from William de Vescy.—*(Rymer*, iii. 89, 90, 91, and 92.)—To hold to Henry in fee.

This lord Percy, the better to secure his title, obtained a release from sir Gilbert de Ayton, knt. (Ayton in Berwickshire), cousin and heir of William de Vescy, of all his right thereto.—*(Rot. Fin.* 8 *Edw. II. m.* 21.

He died 8 Edw. II. (1315), and was buried in Fountains Abbey, and was

II. succeeded by his son Henry, *lord of Alnmouth*, who was then sixteen years of age.—*(Esch.* 8 *Edw. II. m.* 65.

In this year, he entailed, by feoffment dated 24 Sep., on the heirs male of his body, most of his lordships, and amongst others the *Borough of Alnmouth*, with the manors of Houghton and Lesbury, which Isabel de Vescy held for her dower, for the term of her life.

He died on 26 Feb. 1352, and was buried in the Priory of Alnwick.—*(Chron. of Aln. Abbey.)* He died seized of the Castle of Alnwick, with the *manor of Alnmouth*, and others belonging thereto. —*(Esch.* 26 *Edw. III. m.* 52.)

III. He was succeeded by Henry, his son and heir, then thirty years of age. He was at the battle of Cressy. He married Mary Plantagenet, and died on Ascension day, 42 Edw. III. (A.D. 1368), seized of the *borough of Alnmonth*, leaving his son and heir, Henry twenty-six years of age.

IV. This Henry (the son) was the first earl of Northumberland, and was slain at the battle of Barham Moor, in March, 8 Hen. IV. (1408) The *manor of Alnmouth* then descended to his grandson.

His son Henry, surnamed 'Hotspur,' was slain at the battle of Shrewsbury, 4 Hen. IV. (1405), in his father's life-time, leaving a son Henry.

The broad lands of the Percies then became forfeited to the Crown.

King Edw. IV., in the second year of his reign, granted to his brother George duke of Clarence (*inter alia*) the *manor and lordship of Aylmouth*, with the appurtenances in the county of Northumberland, late the estate of Henry late earl of Northumberland.—(10 *Aug.* 2 *Edw. IV. part I. m.* 3, *Tur. Lond.* [A.D. 1462.] 5 *Rept. Dig. Peer.* 362.) This duke, history informs us, fell from

To come in at A next page —

his allegiance, and was drowned in a butt of malmsey in the Tower of London.

V. Henry Percy, the son of 'Hotspur,' was restored in blood and to all his estates which were entailed upon him (2 Hen. V.) He was second earl of Northumberland, and was killed at the battle of St. Albans on 23 May, 33 Hen VI., seized of the *manor and borough of* of *Alnmouth.*

VI. He left Henry, the third earl, who was thirty years and upwards at his father's death; owner of *Alnmouth*, and was slain at the battle of Towton 29 Mar. 4 Edw. IV., leaving a son Henry. His title and estates were forfeited, and John Neville made earl of Northumberland.

VII. This Henry was restored in blood, 9 Edw. IV. (1469), and to the title and estates 25 Mar. 10 Edw. IV. He was the fourth earl, and was the proprietor of the *manor and borough of Alnmouth.* He was murdered 28 May, 1489.

VIII. His son Henry Algernon, the fifth earl, succeeded him, and was owner of the *borough of Alnmouth*, and died 18 Henry VIII. seized thereof.

IX. Henry Algernon, the sixth earl, succeeded, and died without issue, at his house in Hackney, 29 June, 29 Hen. VIII. (1537), having, before his death, given (amongst other estates), this *manor of Alnmouth* to king Henry VIII., if he left no children.

X. Thus this manor and borough became again vested in the Crown, and it remained so until the 4th and 5th of Philip and Mary, when the title and estates were restored to Thomas Percy, the nephew of the last earl. He was the seventh earl. This manor then again came into the possession of the Percies. He was attainted of treason, and executed 22 Aug. 1572 (14 Eliz.) He left no issue male.

XI. Henry, his brother, the eighth earl, succeeded under the entail created in Philip and Mary's patent, and the title and estates were thus saved. He was found dead in the Tower of London, 21 June, 27 Eliz. (1585). He died seized of *Alnmouth.*

XII. Henry, his son, ninth earl, succeeded. He was twenty-one years of age; and died 5 Nov. 1632, also seized of *Alnmouth.*

XIII. Algernon, tenth earl, succeeded. Summoned to parliament, *vita patris*, as baron Percy, K.G. Died 1668, possessed of *Alnmouth*, leaving—

XIV. Josceline, the eleventh earl, his son and heir, who died 1670, without issue male, seized of *Alnmouth*, leaving—

XV. Elizabeth, his only child, the owner of this ancient manor and borough. She married Charles Seymour, duke of Somerset, and died in 1722. Her son—

XVI. Algernon Seymour was summoned to parliament in 1722, as baron Percy, in his father's life-time. He succeeded his father as duke of Somerset, and was owner of *Alnmouth* in 1748. He had issue—

XVII. Elizabeth, the only child, who survived him. She was lady of the *manor and borough of Alnmouth*, and intermarried with sir Hugh Smithson, who took the name of Percy, and was created by George III., duke of Northumberland (the only duke that king made during his long reign). On her death, in 1777—

XVIII. Hugh Percy, her eldest son, was summoned to parliament as baron Percy, and on the death of his father, in 1786, he succeeded to the dukedom, and to the *borough of Alnmouth*. On his death, in 1817—

XIX. Hugh Percy, son and heir, succeeded, and became the third duke, and lord of *Alnmouth*. He died in 1847, and was succeeded by his brother—

XX. Algernon, lord Prudhoe, now the duke of Northumberland, and the present owner of the *manor and borough of Alnmouth*.

Thus we have succinctly traced the descent of this borough from a time anterior to the Norman conquest, through all its proprietors, down to the posession of the present noble owner thereof—from the Saxons to the Normans, and thence through the noble, the beautiful, and the brave. Fairly may we conclude this chapter as we began it, that—

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave.
Await, alike, the inevitable hour:
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

The History of Alnmouth.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHURCH OF ALNMOUTH.

"Where soars that spire where our forefathers prayed:
Thither they came from many a distant dell
Year after year, and on their footpaths strayed,
When summoned by the pealing Sabbath bell;
For in those walls they deemed that God did dwell:
And still they slept within that bell's deep sound.
That spire did here of no distinction tell;
O'er rich and poor—marble and earthy mound—
The monument of all, it marks one common ground."

The foundation of this church has its origin long anterior to the days of the Tysons—to a period, beyond which the records of this county do not exist. It was no doubt founded by the piety of the Great Lord of Alnwick, of which barony it was always parcel. Neither the founder nor the time of its erection are known.

Parochial churches were for the most part built either by the lord of the place, or from the contributions of pious individuals in very early times. It is in general difficult to ascertain their origin. The records of the county are too modern to reach to such early times, save indeed in very few instances. These remarks are peculiarly applicable to the ancient Chapel of Alnmouth.—(*Grose*, iv. 31.)

The church stood on a mount or hill on the north bank of the river Alne, in a rather peculiar situation, surrounded on three sides by water, and connected with the town of Alnmouth by a narrow neck of land called the Cheese-hill. In ancient days it was not uncommon to build churches in such places, secluded as much as possible from the busy haunts of man—as may be instanced in the cases of the Isle of Coquet, the Farn Island, and the Isle of Lindisfarne.

The style of this building, judging from the view of it taken by Grose in 1775, pronounces it to be of great antiquity. It was in the form of a cross. The small windows and buttresses betoken an early style of architecture.

Beatrix, the only child of Ivo de Vescy, and heiress to all his vast estates, married Eustace Fitz John, and he and his wife were the first founders of of the Abbey of Alnwick. They gave to Baldwin, their clerk, to found the Abbey, the Church of Lesbury, with the Chapels of Houghton, *Alnemouth*, and Alnewicke, with all their appendages, in perpetual use, in the year of our Lord 1147, viz. in the 13th year of King Stephen.

From this period the Chapel of Alnmouth became subservient to the Abbey of Alnwick.

In about 1246 or 1247, this grant received a further confirmation from William de Vescy, son of lord Eustace de Vescy, and in these words—"Know all of you, that I from a charitable motive, and for the salvation of my soul, and for the souls of lord Eustace my father, and Margery my mother, and Isabella my late wife, and of all my ancestors and successors, have granted and by this my present charter have confirmed to God and the blessed Mary and to the Abbot and Convent of Alnwick, of the Premonstatensian Order, and their successors, in free fine and perpetual alms, all gifts whatever, which lord Eustace, son of John my great-grandfather, and lord William de Vescy, my grandfather, and lord William de Vescy, my father, to them charitably gave and granted, and by their charters confirmed, that is to say the Church of Lesbury with all its appurtenances, and in particular with the Chapels of Alnwick, and of Alnmouth, and of Houghton, with all tithes to them, in all things belonging or which ought to belong."—(35 *Edward I. m.* 25. *Pat. Rol.*)

These with many other charters were again confirmed by King Edward III. at Carlisle, on the 20th March, 1307, shortly before his death. The archbishop of Canterbury, several bishops, and many of the great barons of the land, being present, as witnesses.

The charters of Alnwick Abbey were again confirmed by Henry Earl of Northumberland, at Lekenay, on the 26th of March, 23 Henry VIII.—(*Lands. MSS. No.* 326.)

The state of the Church is thus shewn by the Records at Durham, in 1610.—"On the north side of the Alne is

Ailmouth Chapel.—(*Acts of the Consistory Court of Durham, No. 4. p.* 140, 20 *Dec.* 1610.)

They have neither bible, homilies, surplice, nor pulpit. The body of their Chapel is in decay. The ruin of this Chapel is built in the form of a cross—is on a hill by the sea—*The Churchyard is still used as a burial ground.*—(*Randall MSS.* 1777.)

In July, 1789, there was discovered near to the ruins of the ancient church at Alnmouth, a stone, which evidently is part of the shaft of a very antique cross. The drawings of the stone are to be found in 'Brand,' 'The Local Historian's Table Book, ii. 324,' and in the 'Archæologia.' This relic is now in the tower of Alnwick Castle, where the British Antiquities are preserved. On the one side of this stone are four figures rudely carved; and on the opposite side, the endless rope, and above it an ancient inscription, supposed to be in Runic characters.

Mr. Albert Way, in writing to lord Prudhoe, on 23 Dec. 1846, says, with reference to the inscription on the old Saxon cross found at Alnmouth, in 1789, on the Church-hill—

" The Northumbrian inscription is reported by Mr. Kemble as being 'not exactly in Runes,' so that my supposition was not wholly without foundation. He has made especial inquiry in regard to the letters on the side, a deficiency which you have had the kindness to supply. The inscription records the workman or erector of the monument, and is thus read by Mr. Kemble—

MÆREDEH. MEH. WO[RHTE]—or, *Mæredeth my Work.*

It is not exactly in Runes, but rude Roman letters, with the sole exception of the P or W. Who the personage was, there is at present no ground for conjecture ; but the name is hardly a Teutonic one. The accusative

form *meh* is certainly Northumbrian—*mec* or *me* would have been found south of the Humber. Hence it is not improbable that the artist was a Briton, either a Cumbrian or even an Irish Scot. Such is the opinion of my learned correspondent, who reads the letters from a rubbing of which I have now to thank you."

On the one side of the cross is a rude representation of the Crucifixion, and on the other side appears the name of Adulfes. It may be the same as Aldnulf, which occurs in Northumbrian history.

This relic appears to be the work of the 9th or 10th century. It is drawn in the Vol. X of the Archæologia, *pl.* 36, *p.* 472.

This Church by tradition is called "Woden's Church." In 1775, great part of the structure was standing. The sea has ever been incroaching, till at last not a vestige remains, save some foundations under the sod. A considerable portion of the churchyard still exists. The rest of the church and churchyard have been carried into the sea.

The adjoining township is called the township of Woden—an evidence of the great antiquity of the place—from the great Saxon deity, from whom our Wednesday or Wodensday has its name.

A fire occurred at Shawdon Hall, the seat of Wm. Pawson, esq., on Sunday, the 27th May, 1849. The bell of the turret clock, which formerly belonged to the church at Alnmouth, situate on the Church-hill, and brought from thence, was melted in the conflagration.

The history of this transaction is simply this:—

In 1667, William Archbould was the principal owner of burgages in Alnmouth.

1672. Jerrard Archbould succeeded him. He was owner of twenty-four burgages there.
1673. William Armour, of Middleton, purchased the same from him.
1682. Alexander Browne, of Twizell, purchased the same, with other estates, from Archbould.
1682. William Browne, of Ewart, gen., purchased the same.
1714. Joseph Browne, of *Shawdon*, was one of the younger sons of William Browne, and Thomas Browne, of Outchester, eldest son of the said William Browne, submitted disputes to arbitration, by which all the Alnmouth property became vested in Thomas Browne in fee.
1725. Thomas Browne conveyed to James Hargrave, of Newcastle, his property in Alnmouth, by way of mortgage.
1731. This Thomas Browne, sold part of his property in Alnmouth, to Edward Gallon, of Alnwick.
1732. And in consideration of an annuity for his life, he sold to him all the rest of his property in Alnmouth.

In 1714, or thereabouts, Thomas Browne, or James Browne, being owner of Shawdon, and being owner of and interested in the property of Alnmouth, took the bell of Alnmouth Church to Shawdon, and afterwards sold Shawdon, bell and all, to James Hargrave, esq., and it remained there until destroyed by the fire on 27 May, 1849.

The Church Hill used to be connected with the town of Alnmouth by a narrow neck of land, with a cart road along it, situated above high water mark. Mr. Edward Stamp, of Alnwick, told me he recollected it so when he was a boy, but by slow degrees the river had washed away this neck of land, and the river which formerly passed on the south side of the Church Hill, now regularly runs across this neck of land, and on the north side of the Church Hill. It has cut out for itself a deep channel, and for the last forty years has been wearing

away the Church Hill, taking away the ground on that side and adding it to the other or north side. No service has been performed in this Chapel for two hundred years past. It has been a ruin since the time of the Commonwealth, but the burial ground has been used in modern times until the neck of land was washed away in the year 1806. The hill has been wearing away every year, and large pieces are undermined and fall down winter after winter by the action of the water, until at last the Church Hill with its chapel and burial ground will be matter of history. I went upon the hill this afternoon (Sunday, 19 Sep. 1841), and found many fewer tomb-stones than I recollect there used to be; the slides in the ground were great, carrying with it, stones, bones, and ground, making sad havock. I took copies of all the stones on which there were inscriptions, and of which the following are copies:—

> Here lieth the body of Robert Long who departed this life the 2d of March 1726 aged...years— . . . . . .

The above is the most southernmost stone now existing, and is lying flat on the ground. I think it has never stood erect, but has always been laid flat on the grave of Robert Long. This family is extinct at Alnmouth.

> Here lieth the body of George Young who departed this life Alemth May y^{e} 28th 1749 aged 63 years and Margaret his wife . . . . . .

The rest of this inscription is buried; it is on the west side of an erect head-stone, the only erect head stone left.

On the east side of the same stone, is the following inscription :—

> Here lieth the body of Thomas Young who departed this life May 12th 1761 aged 49 years.

Standing on the brink of a precipice, which must fall in a few months, is the following head-stone :—

> Here lieth the body of John Grey son of Robert Grey who died March 1st 1776 aged 83 years.

And upon a stone, which has fallen with the bank, with masses of bones, skulls, and soil, is the following :—

> Here lies the body of Robert Grey Junr of Alnmouth, Mariner who departed this life March 31. 1797 aged 49 years.

On a flat stone partly covered with earth, and almost impossible to make out from lichens, but which might be easily deciphered by a little scrubbing, is the following :—

> Here lieth the body of Robert Richardson Son of Robert Richardson who departed this life October 24th aged 22 years 1741. . . . .

The rest I could not make out, for the reason before mentioned.

These are all the tomb-stones having inscriptions, and such are the frail memorials of the inhabitants of this place—memorials of a burial ground, perhaps the most ancient of any in the county. In a few years, from the evident encroachments of the river and tide, the Church Hill will, in all probability, disappear.

There is a mural monument at Hulne Abbey, near Alnwick, to the knightly family of Forster, which was taken from the church at Alnmouth, and built into a wall at Hulne.

The drawing of the Church of Alnmouth, made by Grose in 1775, and published in his 'Antiquities,' gives a good idea of the size and extent of it. In an ancient document, it is recorded, that before the dissolution of monasteries, there were three priests there, serving God daily.

King Henry VIII., the Defender of the Faith, first sapped their foundations, by taking possession of all revenues of this church, leaving it and its vicar with very diminished means; and then afterwards, by pure inattention on the part of the bishops and archbishops of former days, the inhabitants of the parish were allowed to neglect the necessary repairs, till at last this fine church became a ruin, and now not one vestige remains. A great part even of the ancient churchyard, and many of the bodies it contains, have, winter after winter, been washed into the ocean. This process is continually going on, and still a considerable portion of it, as well as of the cemetery, remains. The Church Hill is gradually disappearing. It is just possible, that a church may, in this township, by the aid of pious individuals, again rear its head, to the honour of God, and for the benefit of the inhabitants of the town, who have not a parish church of their own to resort to, as of old; but are obliged to their neighbours, for permitting them to make use of the adjoining parish churches of Lesbury, Longhoughton, or Warkworth, for baptism, marriage, sepulture, and the other rites and ceremonies of the Established Church.

The History of Alnmouth.

CHAPTER IV.

SHEWING THAT ALNMOUTH WAS THE PLACE WHERE ST. CUTHBERT WAS CHOSEN A BISHOP.

" And now the vessel skirts the strand
Of mountainous Northumberland ;
Towns, towers, and halls, successive rise,
And catch the Nuns' delighted eyes.
Monkwearmouth soon behind them lay,
And Tynemouth's priory and bay ;
They mark'd, amid her trees, the hall
Of lofty Seaton Delaval ;
They saw the Blyth and Wansbeck floods
Rush to the sea through sounding woods ;
They passed the town of Widdrington,
Mother of many a valliant son ;
At Coquet-Isle their beads they tell,
To the good Saint who own'd the cell ;
Then did the Alne attention claim,
And Warkworth, proud of Percy's name ;
And next, they cross'd themselves, to hear
The whitening breakers sound so near,

Where, boiling through the rocks, they roar,
On Dunstanborough's cavern'd shore;
Thy tower, proud Bamborough, mark'd they there,
King Ida's castle, huge and square,
From its tall rock look grimly down,
And on the swelling ocean frown;
Then from the coast they bore away,
And reach'd the Holy Island's bay.—*Marmion*, canto ii.

THIS beautiful passage from Marmion, graphically describes the coast of Northumberland, and I cannot resist placing it at the head of this chapter, for I believe it was from the sea-port of Alnmouth that Archbishop Trunwine and the synod sailed, in A.D. 684, to the Isle of Farne, to induce the holy St. Cuthbert to lay aside his hermit's weeds, and take upon himself the more active duties of a bishop.

No doubt, they, in their voyage, after leaving the harbour of Alnmouth, like the abbess Hilda and her nuns—

". . . . . Cross'd themselves, to hear
The whitening breakers sound so near,
Where, boiling through the rocks, they roar,
On Dunstanborough's cavern'd shore."

There can be little doubt but that the Church of St. John, at Alnmouth, was the place where the general synod was held, A.D. 684, at which St. Cuthbert was chosen bishop of Lindisfarne. There is no other place on the Alne, which so well corresponds with the description of the Venerable Bede. That ancient historian writes thus—

"When he (St. Cuthbert) had here [at Farne] served God in solitude many years, it happened that a great synod was assembled in the presence of King Egfrid, near the river Alne, at a place called Twyford, which signifies the Two Fords, in which *Archbishop Theodore*, of blessed memory, presided. Cuthbert was, by the unanimous consent of all, chosen bishop of the Church of Lindisfarne. They could not, however, persuade him to leave his monastery, though many messengers and letters were sent to him. At last the aforesaid king himself, with the most holy Trunwine, and other religious and great men, passed over into the island ; many also of the brothers of the same isle of Lindisfarne assembled together for the same purpose. They all knelt, and enjoined him, by our Lord, and with tears and entreaties, till they drew him, also in tears, from his retreat, and forced him to the synod. Being arrived there, after much opposition, he was overcome by the unanimous resolution of all present, and submitted to take upon himself the episcopal dignity."—*Bede*, bk. 4, ch. 24, p. 228, *Giles' Ed.* 1849.

Mr. Raine states that the whole synod sailed to the island.—*North Durham*, i. 59.

Simeon of Durham relates his election thus—

"In the year 684, in a large council, held in the presence of the devout and God-loved King Egfrid, near the river Alne, at a place called Twyford, which signifies the two fords, and at which Archbishop Theodore, of happy memory, presided, by unanimous consent the holy father was chosen bishop of the Church of Lindisfarne." A deputation from the synod waited on the holy man. "They could not however pursuade him to leave his cell, though many messages and letters were sent to him. At last the aforesaid king himself, with the holy Bishop Trunwine, and other religious and great men, went over to the island," and he was then induced to become a bishop.

This is in unison with the '*Noli Episcopari*" of later times; only, the modern race of divines are not, in general, quite so difficult of persuasion.

Camden mentions Twyford on the Alne thus—

"The shore afterwards opens for the river Alaun, which still retaining the same name it had in Ptolemy's time, is called by contraction Alne, on whose banks, besides Twifford, (*q. d. Two Fords*), where was held a synod under King Egfrid; and Eslington, Alnwick," etc.—*Vol.* iii. 237.

The Very Rev. Monsignior Charles Eyre, in his 'History of St. Cuthbert,' remarks—

"The river Alne still retains the same name, and falls into the sea at Alnmouth, south-east of Alnwick. The situation of Twyford is not known, but if any traces can be found of an ancient town near a double ford on the Alne, they may be supposed to point out the situation of the ancient Ættwifordia.—*Eyre's 'St. Cuthbert,'* 50.

The situation of Alnmouth answers well to the description; for not only was there a large church here, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, where a synod might be held; but close to the Church Hill, upon which that ancient building stood, are two fords across the river Alne; one, called the Low-ford, leading through Woden township, by the Low-ford-lane, to Warkworth, the other leading, by the High-ford-lane, to the vill of Lesbury, and so on to Alnwick.

If the synod sailed to the island of Farne direct from their place of meeting, on the Alne, they could only do so from Alnmouth.

This church is sometimes called Woden's Church, and most probably was the site of an ancient place of Pagan worship before the introduction of Christianity into the island. The river Alne formerly swept round the Church Hill, encom-

passing it on three sides, and fell into the sea between the townships of Woden and Alnmouth.

After the Low-ford has existed from the very earliest period, it is destined to be put an end to in these times of improved communication; for, by a statute passed in the thirteenth year of the reign of our most gracious Queen *(cap.* 58, 13 *July,* 1849), it is enacted that the York, Newcastle, and Berwick Railway Company shall, within twelve months from the passing of the act, remove the stones forming the Low Ford to the natural bed of the river, in such manner as the Lords of the Admiralty shall direct. The Company have not yet complied with this Act of Parliament, but ere they do they are bound first to provide some better public mode of crossing the river, and when this is accomplished it will bring considerable traffic to their line at the Bilton Station by a more direct route, and that, without injury to the public.

For the present I take leave of this subject. Enough has been said to shew the general character of the place, its antiquity as a borough town, and to put in a fair claim for the honor of its being the place at which St. Cuthbert was chosen a bishop.

WILLIAM DICKSON.

Alnmouth, 16 *Aug.,* 1852.

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Errata et Corrigenda.

Chapter II, 3rd page, line 24, for *Alnmonth* read Alnmouth. The last paragraph of this page beginning *King Edward IV. etc.* is here misplaced—it should come in at the 4th page, immediately after line 12.

Chapter III, 1st page, line 3, for *County* read Country.

„ 2nd page, line 4, the same.

„ „ line 7, dele, *of*

„ 3rd page, line 9, for *Premonstatentian* read Premonstratentian.

„ „ line 10, for *fine* read pure.

„ „ line 12, for the *last William* of that line, read Eustace.

„ „ line 18, the reference 35 *Ed. 1st.* is to a confirmation of the grant of 1246 or 7.

„ „ line 20, for *Edward III.*, read Edward I.

„ 6th page, line 18, for *James* read Joseph.

„ 9th page, line 13, for *Archbishops* read Archdeacons.

„ „ line 22, for *Township* read Chapelry.